



NERO CÆSAR
OR
Monarchie depraved.
An
Historical work.
Dedicated with leave,
To the Duke of
BUCKINGHAM,
lord Admiral.
A.D. MDCXXiii.

ROMA

LONDINIVM

MORS NERONIS

FILE

DATES



1670
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VITÆ
DATES

NERO CÆSAR,
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DEPRAVED.
AN
HISTORICALL WORKE.

Dedicated, with leaue, to the *DVKE* of
BUCKINGHAM, LORD
ADMIRALL.

By the Translator of *LVCIVS*
FLORVS.

LONDON:
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Britaines Burſſe. 1624.

SENECA AD NERONEM.

Apud CORNELIVM TACITVM,
Annal. XIV.

Ego quid aliud MVNIFICENTIAE
adhibere potui , quàm STVDIA,
ut sic dixerim , in VMBRA educa-
ta? è quibus CLARITVDO ve-
nit —

TO
MY LORD, THE DVKE OF
BUCKINGHAM, LORD
ADMIRALL,

Most noble, my gracious L^ord,



*He Office of an Historian
is not more worthie then
it is hard. But the hard-
nesse, as it riseth from
the greater necessity of
truth, then of eloquence,
is recompensed with an aduantage aboue all
other sorts of humane learning. For each of
those is but for certain natures; whereas History
is a common study for all. The nobility of the
guift (for it is a guift from heauen, and a great
one) is manifest by the excellencies of persons
who haue laboured therein: Saints, Empe-
rours, Kings, Gown-men, Sword-men; and
whatsoever else is best, or for the best. The
difficulties grow out of the abstruse condition
of causes, counsels, facts, and their circumstan-
ces. And howsoever lights may faile, yet truth
is the supreame aime of euery right narratio-
ner. In this historicall work of NERO Cæ-
SAR, I haue so regarded veritie, that in the
same alone I haue placed my whole dignitie.*

A

Royal

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Royal approbation of the thing (with the greatest improbation of NERO) hath made it so honorablie capable of best acceptance, as it may well be called his Maieslies. Your excellent Lordship the chrystall gate by which my labours first entred into the light of fauour, as now you are their wished port. Here therefore I gladly pay my vowes (this votine Table, a witnesse) and superabundantly repay in study, whatsoeuer I haue receiued in leisure. SENECA himselfe had nothing glorious else to set gratefully by, in lieu of all his pupils bounties, which were infinite.

High, and mightie L^ord,

In my so much vnworthinesse, and inability to deserue (for what a nothing is my greatest somewhat?) it can be little, that I should professe my selfe your Lordships. Neuerthelesse, seeing the truth is so, and I ought to be such by more titles then one, I willingly obey the conscience thereof, and accordingly write my selfe v^p to the world, the most humblie deuoted,

Your Graces,

PHILANACTOPHI'L.

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NERO CLAVDIVS
CÆSAR AVGVSTVS
GERMANICVS.

I.

NERO'S FIRST COMMING TO
THE EMPIRE.



NERO CLAVDIVS, the
adopted sonne of TIBER-
RIVS CLAVDIVS
the late deceased Emper-
our, in the seuenteenth
yeere of his age, obtaines
that soueraigne power, by
vertue whereof the Con-
suls, Senators, Tribunes, Captaines, and all other
the officers, and actiue uerues of state, did exe-
cute their seuerall charges, there being now no
B foun-

fountaine of motion but in principedome only. For CÆSAR had of old so wrought, himselfe into the commonweal, that the one (saith SENECA) could neuer be diduced from the other without the destruction of both: for as the prince needs forces so the people needs an head. Nature had ordaind another for the place, but heinous deuises interuerted the proper course of succession, and so BRITANICVS, the matrimoniall issue of CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS and of VALERIA MESSALINA, was wronged, and ruined. ONVPHRIVS in his description of the citie of ROME, mentions a golden statua erected to this BRITANNICVS in the tenth region thereof, a moniment of NERO's tyrannie (if NERO did erect it) rather then any amends for losse of his life, and empire. The principall agent in that iniurie of disenherison, was violent AGRIPPINA, her incentiue ambition, her instrument that lordly freedman PALLAS; the meanes, incest, adulterie, paricidial poison, and murther.

II.

OF NERO BEFORE HE WAS
EMPEROR OR
ADOPTED.

THE omen, and sequel were conform to the worst of these. NERO came into the world an agrippa, or borne with his feete forward (his owne mother left it written of him so in her commentaries) and turnd the world vpside

side downe before he went out of it, which is e-
 uery where knowne to be written. But that præ-
 posterous natiuitie foreboded nothing, in P L I-
 N I E S conceipt (who notes that all agrippæ were
 vnfortunate) but the parties disaster. Horroure, &
 terrour to the publick were in that which fol-
 lowes. When the Chaldaæans pronounced, accord-
 ing to their art, that hee should reigne, but mur-
 ther his mother; shee submitted herselfe to that
 destinie, and in the furie of her pride fatallie said
 aloud, and let him kill me so as that proues true.
 Acceptance, and consent are dangerous poinets,
 in the poinet of drawing-on foretold euent. Nei-
 ther are the fodein conceits of parents concern-
 ing their children, whither to the better, or the
 worse part, alwayes vain: for D O M I T I V S
 Æ N O B A R B V S, N E R O's owne father, vnpre-
 meditatedly answerd his congratulating friends,
 that nothing could possiblie come of A G R I P-
 P I N A, and him, but cursed stuffe, ordaind to vndo
 the world, or words to such effect. An heauy
 doom, which D I O more probably reports in mil-
 der termes. Fathers are naturallie iudges, & often-
 times prophets also; and aswell their blessings, as
 their maledictions weighty. D O M I T I V S meant
 not to read his childs fortune when he vttered that
 conceipt, but there is euer more somewhat for
 the speakers to beware, and for children to feare,
 in the whatsoeuer words of their parents. During
 his childe-hood A N I C E T V S had the elemen-
 tarie teaching of him, the same who was after-
 wards employd to murther A G I P P I N A, and
 falselie to accuse O C T A V I A; his pupillage, or
 minoritie was governd by A S C O N I V S L A-
 B E O, concerning whom vve finde to N E R O's
 B 2 praise,

praise, that hee thankfully procured consularie ornaments for him; and one BERYLLVS (saich FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS) trained him vp in the rudiments of the Greek tongue, but LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA, vnder the most honorable title, and in the most vsfull employment, was the master of his manners. And they in reason could not haue proued so vile, if his mother had not auerted his affections from the studie of all philosophie, as a thing vnfit for a Souereign.

III.

THE FAMOVVS ERROVR OF
HIS EDVCATION.

AN opinion worthy of a gracelesse woman, and originallie the most certaine cause of his ouerthrow. For his nature most vnboundedly affecting immortalitie of fame (which was truely princely, & truely ROMAN in him) by this abducement from the knowledge of honesty, and worth (the onely true grounds of glorie) he pursued shewes, and seemings, and sought not (saich that excellent philosopher DIO CHRYSOTOMVS speaking of NERO) for that which makes men good, or wise, but for that which might enable him to winn crownes of leaues, or garlands, for singing, fiddling, piping, acting on stages, and the like ignobler trials, which neuerthelesse through the errour of his breeding, appeared to him such transcendently heauenly gifts, that in their perfection he constituted chiefe felicitie.

IIII.

THE MINDE OF AGRIPPINA.

ON the other side, to reigne ouer the world seemed to his mother AGRIPPINA, a thing so dazling and diuine, that all things else stood far to her on the hither side thereof. Therefore in making her way, shee neuer distinguisht either of methods, or efficientes, for want of knowing that which is a much greater thing then to rule the whole world, the ouer-ruling of herselfe for higher ends. The study of true philosophy (for some philosophies are neither fit for kings nor subiects being falsely called wisdome) would haue taught her to consider, how much more glorious it is, to affect honest things rather then great, or to compasse great things honestly. For there can be no pleasure in the fruition of brauerie and power, which in the least degree, can be worthy of an euill conscience, end, and fame. Shee approoued good precepts in SENECA, the more securely to practise her owne bad ones. Domination was her desire, and shee for that contemned all the lawes of god, & man. Nor is SENECA without a part in the blame, who kept him from solid eloquence proper to the antient orators, to hold him the longer in admiration of himselfe, Who taught him how to answer readely, who much more profitably might haue taught him how to thinck deeply.

V.

OF NERO, AS THE ADOPTIVE
SONNE OF CLAVDIVS.

NERO had in marriage the sister of BRITANNICVS, OCTAVIA, the root of his fortunes, and in the life-time of CLAVDIVS, their father, was courted, and serued as heir apparent to the empire. According to which highest hope, the most flourishing title *PRINCE OF THE YOUTH*, or *CAPTAIN OF THE YOUNG LORDS*, which regularly imported heir-apparencie, was assigned to him alone. Old extant coigns, and inscriptions (in whose pretious remains the most certaine marks of facts suruiue) make it euident.

CLAVDIVS adopted him for his eldest sonne, because BRITANNICVS (formerly called GERMANICVS) was two yeares younger: so much it disaduantaged him with a feble father, to haue been born but only so much short. In the yeare of that vnluckie adoption, which
was

was when CORNELIVS ORFITVS was Consul with CLAVDIVS CÆSAR, three sunns appeared, as if the heauens, priuie to impendent effects, had by their mystical character reueled what a prodigie was in breeding.

VI.

OF NERO'S FIRST FIVE
YFARES.

SENECA, chiefe for learning, & power (saith historical PLINIE) and AFRANIUS BVRRHVS (the more solidly honest man of the two) captaine of NERO's guards, were deep of counsell in the edition of this prince, who though hee was in his birth the obiect of dire presages, and afterwards in court the creature of darkelt practises, yet by the apposition of SENECA, like a benigne starr among many malignant, hee came notwithstanding to bee presented to ROME in the shape of such an hope, as a faire fresh morning brings of a correspondent sunn-set. But to mingle nothing in historie, by the perplexing of times, or the forestalling of iudgments, this is confest, that the first five yeares of this young AVGVSTVS were generally such, as TRAIANVS himselfe is said to haue admired, if they were not rather the reign of his gouernours SENECA, and BVRRHVS then, properly his. Yet the inofficious entrance pleaseth not: for hee preoccupied good-will to himselfe by his adopters disgrace, as may without enforcement bee conceaued.

VII.

VII.

SENECA INOFFICIOUS TO CLAV-
DIVS, CONTRARIE TO THE
MORAL GOOD OF
NERO.

TWO orations pennd to his hand by SENECA, and openly pronounced by NERO, do both of them carry the marks of their inwardly offended author, though they were improper to the argument. For SENECA did not only not loue CLAVDIVS, but in a libell persecuted his memorie also. The first oration of the two, pretended by all sorts of praises to make him seem worthy the title of a god, which together with all diuine honors was accordingly decreed vnto him: yet this had some such passages in it, as publickly moued the hearers to laugh, and so hee went out ridiculous deitie. The second speach (summd by TACITVS) while it gaue them an idea of what should bee otherwise vnder him, and better then before, did abatingly insinuate the wants of his predecessour. These beginnings therefore thus vnderstood, do seeme to haue conferred somewhat towards the weakening of pious respects in NERO, who leauen'd with the scoffings of his Maister (for euen LIPSIVS notes that euill spirit in SENECA) did shoue himselfe afterwards no vndexterous disciple, breaking fundrie bitter iests (remembred by SVETONIVS) vpon his dead adoptiue father, the creator of his vnderferued fortunes.

VIII.

A WORD OR TWO TOUCHING THE
INSTITUTION OF A MONARCK,
BY OCCASION OF NERO'S
INSTITUTION.

TO vtter briefly somewhat, by way of francke speech, vpon this iust occasion, in the most chearfull, and most carefull prouince of the world, the institution of a soueraigne prince, whose good, or euill is the common-weals, there is nothing in it which can bee litle, or of litle moment, I do not say of that which is directly ill (for that admitts no doubt) but of that which leads, though but indirectly, towards it. Becaufe great euils may grow out of the smallest causes. But it was neuer a little matter, by all means, and at all times, to maintaine, and strengthen natural pietie, and ingenuous thanckfulnesse, which after some sort are all in all. Princes otherwise minded vndo themselves. For seeing imperiall maiestie doth subsist by the veneration which is owing therevnto, for the reason of fatherly, and lordly power, they doe make examples to their owne harmes who beeing hereditarie, or beneficiarie princes minister the least suspicion of irreuerent affections towards their proper parents, or founders. The most bottomly stone which can be laid for all future felicitie is digged out of none other quarrie then pietie, and whatsoever superedifide is not of like nature, will fall to
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ground, and in the fall thereof will carry it selfe, and with it selfe all the rest, either into obliuion, or infamie. To constitute CLAVDIVS diuine, and to deride him, was absurd in it selfe, as being against both their religion, and the clearnesse of their reason. And let the insinuations of his disgrace be neuer so iust, yet they could not iustly seeme to spring from any other fountaine of affections then that which traiterously tooke away his life. And whither did not licence carry leuitie when that very fact which was absolutely wor-thie of all detestation, and punishment, was become the heinous subiect of SENECA's, and NERO's iests? Therefore, howsoeuer I hartely loue what SENECA's writings haue good in them, and doe admire what is excellent either for wisdom, eloquence, or concept, yet I doe freely professe to hate that, as all men certainly doe, who esteeme the conscience of moral, and ciuil duties, about the flashes of ambitious wit.

IX.

THE SENATS VSE OF SENECA'S
OFFICES, AT NERO'S
ENTRANCE.

BVt the Senate discouerd no such iudgment of this course, for it greatly conduced to their ends, as men who affected centureship ouer their princes, & to remaine the arbiters of things. SENECA therefore, not without some suspicion of vanitie on his part (as TACITVS obserueth) had the glory of witt, and eloquence, in the grace
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of his scholars vtterance, and their lord-ships enacted, that the last oration, because it contained the picture of the NERONIAN commonweale as there it was described, should bee cut in a colunne of siluer, for euerlasting remembrance, and yeerely bee read in full court, vpon the Kalends of IANVARIÆ, when the new Consuls tooke their oathes. And this was done (saith DIO in effect) that NERO who gaue them the hope, should giue them the fulfilling also. A prouision worthy of their wisdome, the commoditie whereof beeing put into their hands by SENECA, did causefully ennoble, & endear him to the publicke. And though NERO afterwards spoild all, by his incredible excesses, yet the oration remained still, an euidence of his engagement, a touchstone of his actions, and by the disparitie of premises, and sequels, did draw the greater foulness vpon his deformities. NERO's faire ouertures for winning goodwill at first, remaine estreated in that most steddie author, CORNELIVS TACITVS, though the oration it selfe (for what monuments will not masse siluer betray?) be quite consumed. The generall notion of the speeches fabrick was, to giue hope, that all those things should bee auoided which had beene offensive before. Of this point the ITALIAN anuthor of the famous RAGVALIAS of PARNASSVS makes vnfriendly vse, in the imaginary inauguration of CORNELIVS TACITVS, to the fained kingdome of LESBOS, finally to the honor of TACITVS, whom hee makes throwne out againe for affectation of tyranie.

THE POISONING OF
BRITANNICVS.

BVt the eminent fame of NERO's first five yeares is only to bee vnderstood, as they were profitable to common-weale in the orderly correction, and administration of the policie, by the speciall care of SENECA, and the seruice of worthy patriots. For his owne manners otherwise did soone beginne to putrifie. His delights, some of them, not honest in any man, as wilde maskings, and riotous wanton women; and some of them, though not dishonest, yet being pursued as chiefe employments were vtterly vnseemely in a prince. This conuiuent permission of him to himselfe (worthely reprobued by DIO) as it increased SENECA's power, so it inflamed NERO's vices. Therefore almost euery yeare of the five was stained with some notable fowle fact or other: for which notwithstanding, because there might bee some defense in the reason of his imperiall rights, or personall safetie, they would haue beene commiserated in him as piacularie infelicities, rather then vrged as criminall impieties, had the world felt a continuance of common profit, or hee not bewrayed his naturall inhumanity. Within the very first twelue moneth of his gouernment hee spotted, and deflowered the maiden candor of his fortunes by poisoning BRITANNICVS, who was his cosen german, his adoptiue brother, and testamentarie partner in the empire,

empire, one so incapable of malicious crimes, that he was then but at the fourteenth yeare of his age. This fact, considered in it selfe, though it directly violated the maine foundations of the world laid deepe by god in naturall pietie, yet some other appellation would haue beene inuented for auoiding the proper of paricide (as I haue said before) had not the carriage of his part in it, and the hor-
rour of the circumstances made it wholly his own. For hee curiously beheld the poison confected, & boild to a speeding height, saw it experimented, and cauld it to bee secretly ministred in his owne presence at supper, in the presence of his wife, OCTAVIA (sister of BRITANNICVS) and of AGRIPPINA; who notwithstanding all other her nocencies, was innocent of this treche-
rie, though not innocent of the impulsues to it; for her absolutenesse being crost by SENECA, and BVRRHVS, shee durst threaten to set vp him as the righter heir, and thereby dubbed him the object of feare, and danger. And when the poore prince fell immediately downe dead, NERO slighted it off, as but a fit of his falling sick-
nesse, and after a short pause renewed the feast, the carcase remoued away. But neither his authoritie nor his art could hinder the discouerie of the crime, for the body at the funerall fire was so thoroughly washt with sodaine showrs, that the lime and whiting which were vsed (saith ZO-
NARAS) to blanch it, for hiding the badges of poison, beeing from heauen dissolued, rendred the homicide visible. The tame taking of it a-
broad fleszt his sauage nature, and made him vn-
fortunately vnderstand, that hee might doe more
of that kinde when hee would. Howbeit some
few

few ciuil reſtraincts (the outwearing tyes of decaying habits) kept him a while from yeilding vtmoſt ſcope to his licentious, and furious will. But the conſcience of this murder was coſtly vn- to him. For hee ſhared houſes, lands, & lordſhips among his friends, as a booty, to counterweigh all conſtructions, and aſſure his partie; nor doe I doubt but that SENECA, as a chiefe ſharer, did now obtaine no ſmall proportion of his huge eſtate; for the circumloquution which TACITVS vſeth at this place may well bee thought to name him without naming.

X I.

NERO'S FORTVNE IN THE
VERTVE OF CORBVLO.

THE following fiſt ſcenes of his reigne like a balme to cure his fame, brought alſo forth a decree of the Senate, commanding triumphal arches, and ſtatuas to bee reared for his honor and memorie of that famous ſeruice which DOMITIVS CORBVLO had performed in ARMENIA againſt TIRIDATES the brother of the PARTHIAN king, endeuoi- ring to plucke ARMENIA from the ROMANS. But the coigns of that time haue better preſerued both the teſtimonie of that decree, and the image of thoſe magnificent works, then the marble of which they conſiſted.

Seeing

Seeing therefore that coigns are so vital to memorie, and that nothing vnder heaven is so deere to a great, and noble minde, as to bee remembered with honour, I may much wonder why souereign princes (who doe hold of glory in chiefe) make either very little, or no historicall vse at all, no not of their copper moneyes. The present *BATAVIANS* (who liue in a forme of gouernment most vnlike to monarchy) are braue and heroick in this, and doe worthely put the world in minde of the ancient *GREEKES*, and *ROMANS*. I wish we had a current *PAX IACOBI*, as there was a *PAX AVGVSTI*; a *BRITANNIA REDVX*, as there was a *ROMA RESVRGENS*; a *SALVS OCCIDENTIS*, as there was a *SALVS ORBIS*; a *FIDES REGVM*, as there was a *FIDES EXERCITVVM*. Arguments of coigns, and indexes of effects, among infinite other most honourable, which hauing no relation to fides (the speciall scandall of the *LATIN* world) are indeed most worthy a mint royall, and do all of them belong, by his owne right, to our most sacred *SOVEREIGNE*.

XII.

NERO VAINLY DEVISTEH VVITH
HIMSELF HOVV TO GOE BEYOND
ALL EXAMPLES, IN MAKING
MANKINDE BEHOLDING VN-
TO HIM.

After this high atchieuement in ARME-
NIA, where CORBVLO had burnt to
ground the head-citie thereof ARTAXA-
TA, NERO CÆSAR lay houering for some
braue colour, or occasion of raising himselfe to
such a glory as might surmount all others glo-
ries, and which (without owing for it to anothers
merit) he might properly call his owne. A minde
(to speake the truth) most worthy of a prince, and
a shew of such a minde most necessary for him.
For though it be most probable, that the reflecti-
ons of CORBVLO's fame had inflamed him
with a desire of euerlasting honor, and SVETO-
NIVS TRANQVILLVS absolutely puts the
loue of immortall renowne into NERO's cha-
racter, yet did it otherwise also concerne him to
affect popularitie. For hauing cruelly poyshed his
brother BRITANNICVS, and discovered in his
night-walkes, the most lasciuious, and ruffianly
faults of his nature, intending likewise to murder
his owne mother (most heinous handsels of more
heinous sequels) he might easily belecue, that
without some notable further sacrifice for expia-
tion of what had passed vile (the same also to bee

as a fine for licence of future worfe) it was not possible to make the multitude (whom he serued as his idol) sure vnto him. Neither was it long before the disorders of the time had furnisht him for that purpose with wished opportunitie. CORNELIVS TACITVS hath gone before mee in the enarration, & I may not ouerpasse it here, though it bee in a most tender case, if betweene prince, and people any other. The ROMANS, who for many yeares (saith TACITVS) had payd such moneys as were ratably assessed vpon the portages, or sales of wares, without any their reproofs, or repinings, could neuerthelesse not endure their exortions who farm'd, or gatherd them. This matter of generall complaint being most iust, NERO was often, and openly calld vpon with a common voice to afford redresse; which would alone both haue satisfied the duty of a prince towards his people, and haue acquieted the people in their vtmost expectations. But NERO, who thirsted for a more glorious occasion, did not hold it enough to remoue the abuse, vnlesse withall hee tooke away the subiect it selfe, by remitting all those paiments for euer. Which being intended as a diuine benefite, would haue proued no lesse, could the commonweale haue borne it. But the ripe, and wise made it apparent to NERO, that he did not therein discharge a burthen, but ruine the world. For those paiments were among the sinewes of the state, and it was no more possible for ROME to haue subsisted, had those returns of supply beene withdrawne, then for a good husband to hold all together, where receipts do infinitely vndergo expences. In TACITVS another worser pestilence is obserued, that tributes

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(the maine stayes of the state) would also haue beene cryde vpon to bee forgiuen, if those vsuall contributions should haue ceased, whose antiquitie, and necessity, euen while the tribes of the people did most hotly predominate by their fierie tribunes, had made them so familiar, that they were neither in truth, nor in estimation, any grievance. For like innumerable small pipes, or quills of succour, they did incessantly helpe to replenish the publicke store, and though they rose in contemptible quantities considered in parcels, yet they did not ammount to contemptible heaps when mett in grosse, but abundantly serued both for the vses of maiesty, and of martiall affaires. Therefore NERO's offer at glory was vnfottunate herein. The same neuertheles was praised by the opposers, to the height of his ambition, though his will and performances admitted a qualification, in which consisted his truest glory. According wherunto he contented himselfe with reforming the abuses of collectors, & other mischieuous enormities. A part of the good whereof, by vertue of his prouisions, extēded it selfe in the effects, euen to the times in which CORNELIVS TACITVS did chronicle this. Vast designes haue sodain fails. Mans minde, like the regions of the aire, hath somewhat in it at times which seemes to answer the nature of meteors. This pufte of intention, and windy caprouch of NERO's, was a kinde of mentall typhon, or at best a meere image of vapour. Otherwise also, it can create no enuie to an orderly prince that NERO propounded somewhat to himselfe incomparable. For denominations, and iudgements of men are not made out of single facts, but constant habits. That ROMÆ

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rooke no harme, but reaped speciall good thereby, shoves her fortunes ancient friendship towards her, and her better childrens discretions, much more then NERO's merit. The purpose notwithstanding considered in it selfe, which pretended common good, was well worthy to haue beene the pretious stone of his first five yeares golden circle, which by reason of his disproportionated carriage stands for nothing now but the vanishing glosse of a fucus, or various flitting bubble.

XIII.

NERO'S MVNIFICENCES, AND
LIBERALITIES.

BUt this most light, and most youthfull Empe-
our to make vp otherwise the full pompe of
his popular insinuations, was so manifold, and
so extraordinary in his publicke liberalities, that
his coigns stamped by decree of the Senate, retaine
their endlesse memorie.

These two figures signifie that kinde of largesse
which was called a congiarie, not altogether vn-
like a lottery, or a compendious way of deliuering

the contents of a publicke dole. For the things, distributed of free cost, not being all of them such that dispersions, or musses could be made of them, little balls comprehending the lot did issue, and were ample warrants for the receipt of the gift. The fortunate did not onely become hereby the maisters of ordinary things in NERO's congia-ries, as measures of corne (and of the ROMAN measure CONGIVS, the whole act was denominated) birds, beafts, all sorts of household prouision, apparell, bondslaues, and the like, but quantities of siluer, gold, and pearle, & at last also whole houses, ships, and estates in land. Of these free lotteries at the most solemne games, SVETONIVS tels vs there were a thousand seuerall parcels flung abroad euery day, during the whole festiuitie. And seeing the coynesse of breuitie will not permit, that things of one kinde should be handled more then once, I will plucke backe into this comon place of his munificence, that most honorable shame, though declared sundry yeares after the famous fiue, when SENECA offered to quit his fortunes, as a secret meane to secure his life. NERO therein hauing acknowledged his immortall debt for the benefit of his instructions (the gardenings, and waterings of the minde) was so farre from coueting his maisters offerd riches, or thinking them great, that hee openly answerd, *He had cause to blush, that hee who for the reason of his learned merits was of all men dearest vnto him, was not by his meanes in so long time become the richest also.* A memorable saying, though discredited by contrary effects.

XIIII.

OF OCTAVIA, NERO'S FIRST WIFE,
AND OF SOME OTHER WOMEN,
WITHIN HIS FIRST FIVE
YEARES.

HIs giuings therefore being such as if hee meant to alter the nature of his tenure, and not any longer to hold of adoption, for his title to the empire, but of bounty, he the rather presumed to neglect OCTAVIA. The honest and safe delight of marriage was corrupted in him by vnworthy change, for the loue of his enfranchised bondwoman, ACTE, vpon whom his dotage was so great, that hee suborned a pedigree, to deriue her from that magnificent ATTALVS, who dying childlesse in ASIA (where hee was a king, and she was borne and bought) ordaind the PEOPLE OF ROME his heire. This fiction in heraldrie, deuised to enworthy her, could not but strengthen AGRIPPINA'S icalousie, that NERO intended to marrie her. OCTAVIA lesse vnhappy had shee encountred no other then this concubine, who by the misery of her fortunes was iniurious to nuptiall beneuolence, but not pernicious to her interest in maiestie, and much lesse to the safetie of her life. Hee was of another minde towards OCTAVIA when hee published her for his CYNTHIA, and himsefe for her SYNNE, as in this coigne he did.

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But in respect of originall right to power, his splendors proceeded from her. Afterwards by superinduction of that nobly borne, and beauteous Lady POPPÆA SABINA, he first eclypsed her matrimoniall light, and then extinguisht her vitall, as will elsewhere appeare in the due place. The wanton prince did at this time beginne to be so fast chained in affection to this POPPÆA, and she so perilous in her workings, that both OCTAVIA, his imperiall wife, and AGRIPPINA, his imperious mother, were desolated and destroyed thereby. No pleasures are more agreeable to health in youth, and heighth in fortune, then femall society, though many bee more warrantable: but that fond prince who sayls by such vncertaine starres, hazards his estate, and doth more then hazard his glory. ACTE was secure in her lowly condition, and loued NERO when his fortunes, and his life were ended.

XV.

THE DEATH OF AGRIPPINA
AVGVSTA.

THe great reason which TIBERIVS CÆSAR might haue to depresse, and extinguish AGRIPPINA GERMANICI, may well be gatherd by the qualities of AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA, her owne true daughter for ambition. She was a mother (as VINDEX speakes in PHILOSTRATVS) whom it was no shame for a sonne to kill, that sonne being NERO; and she her selfe affirmed at her death no lesse. But the reason of that speech may bee almost assigned, because her selfe was rather an infernall furie then a matron, who with such walte of all conscience, and of all common honestie, affected supreme command. If one wickednes therefore might authorise another, none could condemne him as impious, for killing that woman, who meerely for proud ends did most alluringly offer her body to the lustfull embraces of him who scarcely twenty yeares before was bred therein? This one curse was wanting to the fulnesse of her other impieties, hauing formerly traded her selfe in manifold incests with CALIGVLA CÆSAR her brother, & with her vnckle CLAVDIVS. Violation of naturall reuerence betweene the mother, and the sonne was equall; AGRIPPINA's by profligation of her selfe, NERO's by destroying her. As for the manner of her end, that busie APOLLONIVS of TIANA (whom PHILOSTRATVS would faine belye into some-

somewhat more excellent then humane) mistook the storie, where hee saith, shee was drownd by an artificiall shipwracke. For shee escaped the waues, and oares, and died at her sonnes commandement by the swords of immissiue souldiers.

§. I.

*The causes for which Nero resolved to destroy
his Mother.*

BUt the whole wide world from the time in which it first did rise out of nothing till this instant, affording perhaps no such case as hers, I should deale amisse to wrap the narration vp in the like breuitie as the rest, or not to vnfold the parts, that my readers may haue her last act entire, as that example of celestiaall iustice, which euened all scores with wickednesse, and left no tally vnstrucken. The chiefe impulsives therefore which moued the sonne to hate and persecute to death the author of his life, and empire (concubinarie loue growne farre more potent in him then filiaall pietie)

pietie) were securely to bring about his marriage
 with POPPÆA SABINA, whereunto shee
 was a constant enemy, in fauour of his present
 wife OCTAVIA, and then (as the lesser care) to
 assure to himselfe the ROMAN scepter, which he
 feared lest AGRIPPINA in her furie and of-
 fense would seeke to wrest away. A Lady, not
 vnlikely to effect it, considering her spirit, friends,
 and blood, the daughter of GERMANICVS,
 & heire generall, by her mother, to AVGVSTVS
 CÆSAR. She had threatned it, and for but threat-
 ning it, and that but onely in an expostulatorie
 passion, she had bene formerly accused to her son,
 but shee brought her selfe off from the danger,
 with the mischiefe and ruine of her accusers, by
 her parentall priuiledges stoutly vrged, and such
 mitigations as SENECA, and BURRHVS
 tempered together on her behalfe. Yet the impres-
 sion, which that accusation left, was not totally
 wiped out with her apologies. For a cowardly
 minde is euermore credulous to the worse, and
 imagination multiplies feares when vitiated with
 such suspicions as the malice of others will not
 suffer to be withdrawne. The art of POPPÆA;
 who pretending care for NERO's safetie, plide
 him vpon the weake side with terrifying sugge-
 stions, and neuer gaue ouer till their deadly ar-
 rowes (being holpen home to their marke with
 her amorous enchantments) had driuen all regard
 to naturall duties quite away, and left her with
 him in the state of a most abhorred enemy. On
 the other side AGRIPPINA did rise, and swell
 most violently against all barres to that sole tu-
 torship which shee affected ouer her sonne. For
 SENECA himselfe, though a man of her owne

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choyce and placing about him, was growne such an eye-fore vnto her, vpon enuy at his authoritie, that shee forbare not to vpbraide him with his professorian tongue, as a comparatorie abatement. Which vnreuerent and foolish contumely sorted well with the rest of her behauiours, and her former contempt of wisdom. P O P P Æ A therefore could want no colour to continue the pretenses of her care for his persons preservation. And hereupon he finally determined to cut a mother off, to please a stranger in bloud, and I would adde, not onely a stranger, but an adulterous lewd dame, sauing as that is a circumstance which cannot aggravate the fact, considering A G R I P P I N A worser. Nor was this determination made (some thinke) without S E N E C A's conuiencie, if not also with his consent and impulsion, which T A C I T V S affirmeth not (as things to him vncertain all of them) but D I O C A S S I V S doth.

§. II.

Meanes thought, and agreed-vpon for the secret destruction of Agrippina.

THe execution was vndertaken by A N I C E T V S, who hauing beene a bondman, & put about N E R O to teach him GREEK, was afterwards manumitted by him, and created Admirall of the R O M A N nauie at M I S E N V M. The plague of planting seruile natures about young Lords, and noble persons, to forme their first educations (a thing most worthely noted by Q V I N C T I L I A N, in his conference of Orators,

tors, as a pestilent error) fell vpon the empresse AGRIPPINA not vniustly. That execution neuerthelesse was not needing to be by him vnder taken, till three seuerall attempts to poison her, had first miscarried; her prouisions, and discoueries more actiue, then their practises auailable. Open force was with one consent condemned as improper, and dangerous. From thence it grew that drugs were employd about the vvorke, and vwhen they returned vaine, their vtmost consultations could propound nothing for the purpose, but if there might bee somevwhat deuised vvhich should resemble, or imitate a casualtie. There were therefore vvhoe in her ovvne house contriued a loose or hanging rooffe, vvhich falling in a moment should pash, and oppresse her in her bed. A most villanous device, but hauing chincks to come out at, she escaped. After this, and vvhile inuention stuck, it hapned, that among the shovves, and amphitheatral pageants, a kind of ship-vvork, or nauall frame vvas presented to the people (vvhoe vvere courted by their princes, and greatest magistrates vvith such like toyes) so cunningly ioincted, that the hold or body thereof sodenly flying open, did put forth certaine vvilde beasts aliue, at the discretion of their maister, and readily closed againe. This originall produced vpon drie land, vvas reputed a patterne most fit to be translated to their vses at sea, for effecting, and colouring the accidentall drovvning of AGRIPPINA. For it might vvell passe (the secret being kept smotherd among themselues) vvithout any probable scandal, then onely that vvhich the common fortune of that vnstable element vvould both handsomly beare, and ansver. And novv there

wanted nothing but conuenient time, and place, to conspire for their ends with the vse of this pernicious engine.

§. III.

The time, and place for execution of the deed, with a partil description of the traſſ-galley.

AGRIPPINA, being out with her sonne, and he with her, was then vpon refreshment, and recollection of her selfe at ANTIVM, a pleasant sea-towne in old LATIVM, and a ROMAN colony, about thirtie small ITALIAN miles from ROME, famous for sumptuous buildings, and for a goodly temple dedicated to equestrall FORTVNE, the tutelary goddesse of the place, and of the cheualry of ROME, but specially affected for delicious retirements: where NERO himselte was borne: but that being no part of ANTIVM's glory was thus farre profitable thereunto, that hauing no good port, nor rode for ships, NERO (to his birth-place indulgent, but to her who bare him vnherbarous) caused an haven to be forced by hand at an huge charge. For what he did in that kinde was rather excessiue, then not magnificent. At the same time, he remained at BAIE; another, but a more voluptuarie seate, situated also vpon the sea, though sheltered in the bottome of a bay, from the open rage of windes, and waues, about fourescore miles from ANTIVM, where hee meant to welcome the spring of the year, and to keepe those famous feasts

feasts of MINERVA, which for that they lasted five dayes were stiled QVINQVATRVS, or QVINQVATRIA. These considerations offering themselves to be examined, it was agreed vpon, that all of them serued their turn, if AGRIPPINA could be but wonne to come. A taske not hard for NERO to performe, who was a much greater maister at malicious counterfaiing (an inseparable property of base, and dangerous natures) then euer he tooke himselfe to be at musick. Therefore with most officious letters he inuiteth her from ANTIVM thither, as to an entire attonement, to bee sealed and ceremoniated at the ioyous celebration of those sacred solemnities, ouer-gilding his hookes with religion. Meane-while the trap-galley was prepared for the seruice with such outward pompe, and brauery as became the maiesties of the host, and guest, he CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, and she AVGVSTA dowager. The forme of a galley, or row-barge may appeare in this coigne,

stamped in the name of the GENIVS of the PEOPLE OF ROME; for gratulation of NERO's comming home, and that cabin or chamber hereof which is toward the sterne, was the place in AGRIPPINA's galley where

the trap was set. There her sumptuous couch was provided. The bales, and supports were so fitted (for the whole roome it selfe was nothing else but a trap) that vpon a signe giuen (they giuing way) the rooffe should sodainly fall, together with that end of the vessell, perpendicularly downe into the sea. And that the rooffe, when it fell, might both sinke it selfe, & all the ingenious part, a vast weight of lead was secretly spred, and sheeted ouer vpon the conuex top of the tilted cabin. So that when the bolts, or pins were vpon the warning stricken out, the must either of necessity be brained (as they conceiued) with the vnexpected ruine, or her body be deuoured in the deepes, or both. Nor in this consultation was it any part of their care, what should become of the other people aboard, for a greater number would haue been sacrificed to the seruice without any remorse in NERO, and they who could swim might so bee safe, whatsoever became of the galley. This trecherous device learned at first as a sport, but practised here to do mischief, was afterwards vsed to a magnificent, and more innocent purpose. For XIPHILINE out of DIO writes, that seuen hundred wilde beasts were enclosed in a like fabricke, raised vpon the sandy floore of the amphitheater at ROME, which were put forth out of the opening sides of the ship, at the pleasure of the keepers. Some haue written that the Emperor SEVERVS, (for it was in his dayes) did perhaps represent the ARKE OF NOAH herein. That a ship, or other vessell, may so be built by the direction of an enginier, as vpon a sodaine to part in sunder, and shut againe, is apparent.

§. IIIL.

*Agrippina feasted by Nero at Baie, and put aboard
the trap-galley vpon her returne.*

BVt such was NERO's impatience against his mothers life, that he could not stay for an offered opportunity to depriue her of it, but must consult how to hasten it; and his enuie against her contentment was so great, that although he was well pleased with her solitary courses, yet because hee found it was a solace to her, he must of force entice her to perish by his practises, vnder shew of infinit good affection. His letters therefore, falser then the gally (as hauing a more hollow secretary to endite them, then this had cunning ship-wrights to fashion it) comming quickly to her hands, did not difficultlie allure her out of ANTIVM; glad, poore woman, of fauour, and either crediting his faire words (which seemed to breathe nothing vpon her but the flowers of delight and loue) or as thinking it best to pretend credulitie. Withall, in his ordinarie discourses, NERO gaue it out (as if he were turnd good childe) that the displeasure of parents ought to be born, & their minds appeased with obsequious behauiours; to beget, and raise a rumour thereby that all was well againe betweene them, so to quash the contrary fame, of which the world was full. Himselfe, vpon notice of her approach, mett her in person vpon the shore, and waited vpon her to BAVLI, with all the shewes of honour, and deare regards: and while this face of amitie lasted, went with her (saith DIO) in the deceitfull vessell it selfe, to benumbe
her

her all ouer with securitie. Nor did he pause long vpon the execu ion of his plot: for that very night she was inuited from her repose at B A V L I, to the fatall supper at B A I Æ. But she, vnfortunate Lady, hauing secret intelligence that certain destruction lay quoidl aboard (as a snake in flowers) in that pompous preparation, resolud not to goe to court by sea, but commanding a chaire to bee mounted, auoided the voyage, and was carried thither so. B A V L I (as P L I N I E describes it) was seated betweene B A I Æ, and lake L V C R I N V S. and T A C I T V S contradicts him not, as placing it betweene cape M I S E N V M, and the bay of B A I Æ, where he saith the sea winding inward doth wash the foot thereof. O R T E L I V S, and M E R C A T O R doe both of them vnderstand it so, and accordingly assigne it in their mapps betweene the inmott point of the port of A V G V S T V S, where the R O M A N naue rode at anchor, & the bottome of the B A I Æ. Which either T A C I T V S also saith, or he is not vnderstood of mee where he writes, that A G R I P P I N A, in her escape from drowning, was carried into lake L V C R I N V S, & so to her manour. Vpon her coming to court, she found such exquisite welcomes, such cheare, and che refulnesse, in refutation of forewarnings (which N E R O would haue her thinke were malignantly instilled) that all her ieaiousies were charmd fast a sleepe by degrees, and she receiued down deepe into her as an infallible truth, that nothing at all was meant towards her but good, and faire. And they verily vvho vv ere not vvithin the conscience of the secret, but liued so late, and happy as to sit spectators only, vvould easily haue svvorne that all vv as gold in those shovves

shovves of loue vvich vvere so double-guilded. But her cunning enemies (NERO their chiefe) hauing obserued vvith vvhat distrust of the vvater she came to B A I Æ, to make it sure she should returne in the trap-galley, hee commanded the maister of her owne L I B V R N I C A, or priuate barge, to bruisse, and boulge it (saith SVETONIVS) as by some mischance, that the same being thereby made vnseruiceable, he might in sted thereof obtrude that vnfound, and false-bottom'd bore at her departure. And hauing foold her into full beliefe of his sincerenesse with viler dissimulations then his trecheries were prodigious, he held her among meates, and cups with varieties of entertainments till somewhat late in the night. When now yet at last there was a kinde of necessitie to part, he most officiously vvhered her to her boates side, where A N I C E T V S (her assured foe) with all humble reuerence, tooke her in vnder his charge, without any other of her people, but onely C R E P E R E I V S G A L L V S, and A C E R R O N I A P O L L A. But neither the sea (saith DIO) was willing to concurre to such an artificial parricide; for the water proued wondrous calme at the time (a circumstance which no wit of man could maister) nor the heauens to conceale it; for the skie was awake with store of starre-light (saith TACITVS) as to conuince the fact.

§. V.

The trap in the galley miscarrying, Agrippina regains the shore; her two chiefe attendants diuersly slaine.

BEhold the successe. The galley now had not long beene off at sea, nor farre from shore, but the deadly signe was giuen. At which the engine immediatly flew off, and had performed the effects for which it was ordaind, but that the props, and staves of the forepart being by chance more stubborne then to yield to the crush (the life it selfe of the wicked mysterie) **AGRIPPINA**, and her woman of honour, remaind vntoucht. Their postures were the cause, for the emperresse lying at length vpon a pallet, & **ACERRONIA** leaning backward at her feet, the timbers ouer head fell not low enough to reach her; to the sad disadvantage of her easier end. An heauy hap surprised **CREPEREIVS GALLVS**, who standing vpright, not farre from the sterne, was instantly stricken dead with the hinder end of the falling rooffe; it draue of it selfe so violently down. **ANICETVS** beholding the fraud thus accidentally defeated, did neuerthelesse without remorse, obstinately pursue his cruell purpose, and so both shee, and **ACERRONIA** were howsoever tumbled out into the sea, by ouerturning the galley, but somewhat leasurably; as in a tumult where the most part being vninstructed for the drift, hindered the forwardnesse of guiltie parties. **AGRIPPINA** is now in the sea, I cannot say the waues, for

for there were in it none other at all then those which the motion of the galley, and the tragicall vpror caused. And who would imagine that her lifes defense had not beene a part of the speciall constant care of heauenly prouidence, who had seene the deliuerance of her out of so dreadfull danger? But it soone appeared by the vndelayed sequell, that her vnwomanly vices merited shee should perish more tormentedly, and more exemplarly. The instant escape notwithstanding was worthely to be admired. For she being full of wine (saith DIO CASSIVS) as returning from a most imperiall feast (her last) consequently more apt to speake, yet nothing but silence in swimming preferued her aliuie for the present, and shee at last got to shore, from out of the tempest of strokes, and blowes aim'd at her hed erroneously. She the rather escaped by the change of the aire, which sodenly thickned at that moment. An accident which they must grant, who would not make DIO vnneccessarily encounter TACITVS. ACERRONIA was beaten to death with poles, and oares, and with what other ship-tooles came to hand, while crying out for helpe, as if her selfe had bene the emperours mother, she ignorantly did her last best seruice for her lady, by giuing her opportunitie to slide away, vsing that name for a protection, which was the marke it selfe of mortall hatred. Neither did AGRIPPINA passe free from harme, for she had a wound inflicted vpon her shoulder, the certaine badge, and earnest of her final, and forthwith-ensuing murther. The darker parts of this matchlesse storie I haue had a speciall care to enlighten, not without encombrance; because the text of the CORNELIAN ANNALS

is at this place holden somewhat depraue'd, and other credible moniments are not to be sung at first sight within agreement to T A C I T V S.

§. VI.

Maine doubts, touching Agrippina's escape, not to be cleared out of Tacitus, Suetonius, or Dio, attempted to be cleared otherwise.

IN this water-scene of A G R I P P I N A 's tragedy, nothing did euer trouble mee so much, vvith the shevv of improbabilite, as to conceiue, hovv so tender, and delicate a lady should saue her selfe by svvimming, from among so many deadly enemies, till the skiffes, or vvherries, came to the rescue, though the shore (saith T A C I T V S) vvvas neere at hand. For I neuer heard that the ladies of R O M E did practise svvimming since C L A E L I A 's time. This speculation moued one T A R C A G N O T A, an I T A L I A N, to vvrite in his histories, that she saued her selfe, vpon a peece of vvood. Nor vvvas that a vvodden or poore deuice had he named some other vvarrant for it, beside his ovvne. I my selfe could thinke vpon other vvayes also, hovv to remoue the scruple, but that it is not all one to penne a historie, as to vvrite a poem; vvhere all things are permitted to phansie, and vvhere nothing. I V L I V S C A E S A R saith excellently vvell, that the immortall gods (to speake his ovvn vvords) haue an hand or stroake in all things, but specially in those vvwhich cannot

cannot be carried by reason. Which seemes to bee verified in this strange escape, for I cannot answer to my selfe this doubt of her swimming by any thing which remaines in TACITVS, and doe therefore the rather incline to follow a poets authoritie of those times, who in my opinion is not a poet in that particular. The tragedy of OCTAVIA (NEROS wife) passing among those of SENECA's, affirms vnto vs, that when AGRIPPINA was whelmed out of the galley into the water, she sunke, and rose againe, paddling with her hands to keepe her selfe aloft. In that estate some cheard her vp in her faintings with their voices, and held her vp in her sinkings with their officious hands, till (as that tragedian writes) shee mett with assured succours by such of her seruants who for her sake despised death and danger. Her maruailous escape was enough alone to make her seeme doubly venerable, both as AVGVSTA, and as preferred by the speciall fauour of the immortall gods, the peculiar friends (as TACITVS saith elsewhere) of the CLAVDIAN family; whose lineall of-spring by the fathets side she was. Another greater point, not lesse dimme, or mistie then the former (for any thing which TACITVS hath registred for clearing it) was the fortune of the galley it selfe, which though by his narrations it doth well appeare not to haue beene dissolued (at leastwise not vpon the sodaine) yet DIO CASSIUS most credibly reports, that it was dissolued, and the same ancient tragicke poet (who was contemporanie to the fact, whether he was SENECA or no) describes the foundring of the vessell, and a face of manifest shipwracke, some vpon planks, and rafters, others

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plying

plying their armes in sted of oares, these escaping, and others drowning. Nor could it in reason bee otherwise, euen by that which TACITVS him- selfe tels vs, of ouersetting the galley, so to turne AGRIPPINA out into the deepes, whereby ANICETVS, and his complices being forced to prouide for their proper safeties, she was the more free to escape, vnder the protection of night, which came somewhat soone, because the vernall æquinox was as then but newly passed.

§.VII.

Nero, after the newes of Aggippina's escape, giues present order for her death, in hope to make it seeme her proper act.

After this sort therefore she came safe to land, where shee prouides by surgery for the wound receiued on her shoulder, and betakes her selfe for ease, and refreshment to her chamber, from whence shee forthwith sends her trustie freed-seruant, LVCIVS AGERINVS, with a gratulatory message to her son at BAIE, to signifie her happy escape. For she durst not seem to suspect any thing in it, saue meere mischance. But NERO CÆSAR, whom expectation, and terror of conscience kept awake, was fully informed by ANICETVS, (long before AGERINVS could arriue) concerning the whole aduenture, and had already authoris'd him, as sherriffe, or superuifor of the execution. He tooke with him HERCVLEVS (the maister of the broken galley) and O-

LOARITVS (a sea-captaine) as his slaughtermen, or executioners, strengthened with troopes of mariners in armes, (for he durst not trust his souldiers) directly to accomplish by force what no finenesse could effect. That employment the seruile ANICETVS, as in loyall zeale to his Lord, and patron, did not lesse feruently vndertake, then as if it had beene a thing most certaine, that either shee, or NERO must absolutely perish. And to this most sauage act SENECA, and BVRRHVS (I grieue to speake it) were not onely priuie, and consenting, but SENECA the authour also, vpon the same supposition of necessitie. Meanewhile, as if lucke did fauour the designe, AGERINVS entering to deliuer his message, ANICETVS impudently drops a naked sword betweene his legges, and presently apprehends him, as transmitted by her with that sword to murder CÆSAR. So the poore fellow was immediatly created a property to countenance his ladies killing, and was executed ANICETVS, thus instructed, and fitted, sets forward with al possible diligence, & where he found such people in the way as had flockt to the shore in great numbers frõ the parts about, with lights, or torches, clambring the rocks, & cliffes, & pestering the shores, to gaze at the wonder, hee driues them home, & left all places solitary, sauing where he went himself. And here it must not be forgottẽ that notwithstanding any power permitted by NERO to this instrument of ruine, and his brace of inhumane butchers, yet was it very farre from his intention to auow the fact, but to haue it blazed, and beleeued among the vulgar, that his ambitious mother, conspiring to vsurp the empire, sent AGERINVS to murder him, & that vpon
his

his apprehension she finding her drifts discouered flue her selfe, to auoid the shame of a publicke conuiction for so capitall, and so vnnaturall a treason. Whatsoever therefore we reade afterwards touching ANICETVS, and his carriage, must all of it be interpreted by that chiefe intention. So there is no greatnesse of power, when it would extremely abuse it selfe, which is not glad to thinke of meanes how to auoid the note of wickednesse. An illustrious prooffe of the hatefull deformities which are naturally seene in doing euill, and of the honourable beauties, and graces which do as naturally shine in the contrary.

§. VIII.

The manner of Agrippina's murder exactly described.

ANICETVS therefore comming to the house, besets it round with part of his entrusted forces, to preuent all euasions either of persons, or reports, which might endanger, or publish the businesse till it was done. Finding the gates of the palace shut, he breakes them open, enters, layes hold on such of the house as he meets, and stops not, till by way of surprise he rusheth vp to the very dores of her priuate lodgings, which the ROMANS (for the maiestie of such a person) reputed sacred, and inuiolable. There hee onely findes a few of her night-watch, and those, as it seemd, not arm'd (for NERO had taken away her guards of GERMANS before) the rest being fled for feare. In all which passages, ANICETVS seemes

seemes to haue intended nothing more then only to hinder AGRIPPINA from hearing of his approach, who mutually hating him, was known to her now to be her mortall enemy. Shee who till this instant lay deeply musing with her selfe, and grew more and more solicitous, that neither any messenger came from her sonne, no nor that euen AGERINVS, her owne messenger, did returne, sodainly heard all silent about abroad, which happened, because ANICETVS had frighted the people home, and then soone after molested her with this tumult, whereof as the reasons were to her vnknowne, so they were the certaine signes of some extreme calamitie at hand. In her chamber there was not any light at all but a small one, which thing did euen it selfe, make a show of somewhat in it like a funerall gloominesse, nor was any of all her people about her but one maid-servant onely, and she (of whom there was no reason to looke for more fortitude then her men had discovered) being beckned out, did likewise forsake the roome, though her mistresse had sayd vnto her; *And thou wilt also leaue me.* But the iust cause of her departure immediatly appeared, for AGRIPPINA, casting her eye backe, sees ANICETVS enter with HERCVLEVS, and OLOARITVS. Their mercilesse minds, euery-where transparent in the fact, were not slightly foretold by their silence, for it is not remebred that any of one them spake a word. This gastyly dumbe show, which was prouided for perdition, not for parlea, did not for all that make her speechlesse, but like a great lady cōtinuing mindful aswel of the empresse, as of the mother in her person, demanded the cause of their so rude, and vnreasonable entrance, saying by way

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of

of preoccupation, If their errand was to visite her from her sonne, they might returne, and tell him the ioyfull newes that she was well amended, if to commit the heinous deed, she did beleue nothing bad, or hard of him, and was sure he neuer sign'd their warrant for her murder. But nothing moued herewith they cast themselues about her; HERCVLEVS with a short club (who notwithstanding the affinitie of name had nothing in him of heroick HERCVLES) marshald himselfe at the beds head (as I conceiue it) the other two at the sides, for more are not named to haue entred. OLOARITVS, without further preface, beginning to vnshathe his sword, it is not found that she either shriekt, or wept, or vainely begd for fauour, but in retraction of her pretended better opinion, laide her bare belly open, and challenged him to strike that, as deseruing it, for hauing brought forth monster NERO. Which while it gaue perhaps some little pause, or stop to the hand of OLOARITVS, troubled with the horror of such a voyce, and action, her selfe at the same time (for what time else more agreeable?) stepping sodainly (saith DIO) out of her bed, HERCVLEVS steyd her, by discharging a blow vpo her head with his churlish bat, and stonisht her, and the sword then finisht the worke with many foines. She made what vwards, or fense she could; for otherwise she needed not to haue endured so many vvounds as she did, before she died. And it sorted properly vvith the matchlesse maiesty of her bloud, and the fiercenesse of her fiery spirit, to die as vnnvillingly as she could, being it vvas that she could not die reuenged. Her deaths wound was in her brest, if the authour of the tragedy of OCTAVIA doth not therein vse his professions priuiledge.

§. VIII.

*Nero's behaviour, and words in priuate, vpon the view
of Agrippina's corse; where the fame of their in-
cest is likewise scanned.*

THe murther thus committed, the body was left where the breath departed, and NERO (waiting vpon the euent) had present word thereof. Many in those times, and they not vncertaine authours, saith S V E T O N I V S (who doth often couertly encounter with the iudgements, & inclinations of T A C I T V S) that he came in person to the place where the corps lay, and (as if the rest of his doings had else been little, or nothing) beheld it crowner-like all ouer, praising this part, and dispraying that, as if he had been to censure a statue. Which S E V E R I N V S B O E T I V S in his booke of consolation, worthely marshalls at the foote of N E R O 's inhumanities, as the greatest. And that he did not onely distinctly view, but both handle her limbs, and also tell her wounds, is testified by Z O N A R A S. There goes a rumour also that he saw her body opened, to behold the place of his conception. For which notwithstanding there is no authenticke testimony that I can finde; nor other ground of coniecture (if that may be a ground) then a meere supposition, that shee was embowell'd before her burning. Sure I am, that no credible authour hath auouched it concerning A G R I P P I N A, whose funerall, & confusion were so neere conioignd, as left small place and lesser vse for such a rituall office. They say moreouer, that while he was thus prophanely em-

ploid he grew thirsty, and in sight of that piteous object, quencht his drowth with drinke, who should rather haue done it with his teares, & at the end of this vnnaturall suruey he gaue out such an odde farewell as was viler (saith D I O) then the murther it selfe, for thus he impenitently said, that *Hee did not suppose hee had had so faire a mother.* The sentence neuerthelesse doth in part acquite him from her incestuous familiaritie. For how was it strange to him that his mother should bee so handsome, if she had been his concubine? C L V V I V S R V F V S, a consularie man, alwayes at N E R O's elbow, & in a most nocent court a most innocent courtier, was likely enough both to know what he writ, and to write what he knew, and he hath assured vs, that N E R O was vpon the point of yeilding to his mothers prophane allurements, had not S E N E C A found meanes to terrifie him fro it. How it hapned, that his action not concurring with his will, the rumour of the crime should hold, other worthy authors haue certifide. For into his college of concubines he had receiued a common curtisan, onely because shee was reputed to be as like A G R I P P I N A as like might be, and thereupon he would boast himselfe to his companions, that he had been with his mother. How farre in true case of conscience it was differing from actuali commission is not difficult to decide, being euery where esteemed within a small degree equiualent. Those other particulars, touching the inspection, are not therefore incredible because incomparablie barbarous, or because some writers (whō T A C I T V S had seene) deny it, for other noble authours, and constant fame condemne him, nor doth the cruell curiositie hereof
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ablude from the rest of his. A man who grew by degrees so infinitely wicked, that nothing can be fatherd so horrible vpon him, which his sutable manners would not render credible. Though he was not therefore to be slanderd, for our common prouerbe, *A sinne to belie the deuil*, is none of the worlt. But his vsage of young BRITANNICVS in the very first bud of his empire, when he most affected, and most had need to seeme good, his vsage afterwards also of the detruncked heads of his innocent wife, OCTAVIA, and of CORNELIVS SYLLA (to speake of nothing else) are as so many arguments to tell vs, that our authors do not probably wrong him in these most infamous reports concerning his behauiour ouer his murderd mother. The case of BRITANNICVS a most competent parallel. AGRIPPINA was by nature NERO's mother; BRITANNICVS by nature his coulen german, and by adoption his brother: AGRIPPINA by her practises procured the empire for NERO; BRITANNICVS ought to haue had it as immediate heire: AGRIPPINA was murderd in the fifth yeare of NERO's reigne; BRITANNICVS in the very first. Compare the good man to himselfe in both these examples. It was not enough for him to poyson this prince, but to make sure he should be irremediablie sped, himself would see the hagg LOCUSTA, boyle the stuffe in his owne sight, and when the operation of the first confection vvas not found svvift enough, hee buffeted her vvith his ovvne hand, for presuming to excuse it, as in fauour of his honour had it been made to vvork to presently, adding vvords, in returation of her vanity, nothing infe-

rior in their horroure to those which vvere vsed ouer AGRIPPINA, for thus he replide, *I am afraid belike of the Iulian Law*, meaning the law enacted by IVLIVS CÆSAR against poysoning. But to assure vs, that he euen vvantonly affected the heighth it self of all damnable deeds, we are to vnderstand, that vpon a second boyling, and triall of the liquor, when LOCUSTA now had fully pleased him, because it was immediately the bane of that beast to which they had giuen it, then loe, he farre outwent the licentious allegation of his priuiledged impunitie with other words, and actions. For he did not onely not punish her (therin after a manner iust, because himselfe was the authour to her of the preparations) but highly extolled her, as a speciall instrument of his vses; yea more, he enfeofft her in lands, and lordships, and to prouide that the art might not perish, caused her to professe, and assigned schollers. Looke vpon this precursorie drama of BRITANNICVS, and then doubt of the truth of his behauiour, and words, ouer mangled AGRIPPINA.

§.VII.

A short speculation touching Agrippina's pedigree, and death.

THis was the end of IVLIA AGRIPPINA, the greatest, and most nobly borne lady vnder heauen, vnited by consanguinitie to all the emperours, from her kinsman IVLIVS CÆSAR downe-

downeward: A V G V S T V S her great grandfa-
 ther by the mother, T I B E R I V S her great un-
 cle by the father, C A L I G V L A her brother by
 the whole blood, C L A V D I V S so neare of kin
 vnto her, that he ought not to haue been her hus-
 band, N E R O her sonne, an emperour of her own
 creatiō, & which makes most for the glory of her
 authority, able to dedicate her incestuous vnckle a
 god; but this went beyond all for endearing her
 to the people, that she was the lawful daughter of
 G E R M A N I C V S, who sauing onely as he was
 not consecrated diuine, stood otherwise adored in
 memorie for the opinion of his worth, and pittie
 of his fortune. O heighth, then from which neuer
 any lady fell lower! O depth, then into which ne-
 uer any fell more headlong! of filiall impietie the
 most horrible example; of motherly dignitie the
 most terrible precipice! Her estate at her death
 most comfortlesse, for hauing measur'd the de-
 grees of felicity by no other scale then the degrees
 of worldly fortune, and condemning euery other
 point in the sphere of things but the verticall, was
 sodenly thus bereft of all together, without so
 much as an honest ethnicke conscience, which
 might bee supposed to vsher her to the fields of
 blisse, ordaind euen in their beleefe, for a lasting
 reward to the vertuous. Euery-way therefore most
 vnhappy, euen in this also, that by not being
 drownd, her name lost those altars, rites, and tem-
 ples, which her son had destinated to her memory,
 not so much for her honor, as to hide his proper
 crime; but most of all because her soule was
 not of the nature of an accident, whose sepa-
 ration is extinction, nor like the snuffe of a ra-
 per, to die with her body, but to remaine immor-
 tall.

tall. The truth whereof NERO felt, being continually haunted with her ghost, which no incantations, nor sacrifices could appeale till his owne descended: for among his last words, when hee was to leaue this life for a worse, he cryed out in a sad Greeke verse, *That his mother, wife, and father willd him die.* A most famous warning to doe as iustice would, and not to thinke dully of God.

§. XI.

The peoples inward iudgement of Nero's heinous fact against his mother in what sort outwardly exprest.

BVt whereas NERO calumniouly intended to fasten vpon his mother the fame of her owne killing, it found so small beliefe, that the feare of his power, rather then the effects of his arts, preuailed for his safetie. The secret friends therefore of AGRIPPINA (for who else rather?) and if not they, yet euen the common quarrell of nature against such exquisite wickednesse, found out partakers on behalfe of the world, to protest his guiltinesse, and to vex his fame with the couere exercise of freedome. For about the necke of one of NERO's statuas a leatherne sacke was hung, to vpbraide his paricide, the punishment whereof (in the ancient lawes of ROME) was to be trussed into such a male, with a cocke, a dogge, and a viper, and so to be thrown all foure together quicke into Tiber. Another exposed an infant in the market-place, with a scroll about the necke, like the

the mott of an heroicall deuce, or instructiue morrall, which sayd thus much, that the parent would not foster it, for feare it should kill the mother. And when his other euill deserts were come to such a swolne excesse, that the people forloronly bemoaned the fortune of their cittie, as if the time were at that instant come, in which it was to be desolated, according to certaine blinde prophesies which being masked vnder the venerable title of the Sybils (though euen the verses themselues pointed expressely to the nine hundredth yeare from R O M E built, which was aboue fourescore yeares off) N E R O proclaimed, that in the Sibylls oracles there was no such line, & therefore it was a bastard; then they (as if sorrow had inspired them) vniuersally celebrated another verse, as truly one of Sibyllis (nor any one of hers proued truer) the fatall argument whereof was this: That the last of A E N E A S line to reigne in R O M E, should bee his mothers murtherer.

§. XII.

Of Agrippina's colonie, and commentaries; and of her buriall.

ANd though shee was, in all other respects, most vnfortunate, yet in one point shee sacrificed luckely to felicitie. For it was her act, during her full-failld fortunes, to deduce a colonie of ROMAN Citizens to plant them among the V B I I, vpon the R H E N E, which, beeing called of her name, *The colonie of A G R I P P I N A,*
H because

because it was her birth-place, while her father GERMANICVS serued in those parts, General of the ROMAN armies, doth at this day freshly flourish; the chaire, and princely seat of the principal clergie-man in GERMANIE, and first elector. As for her learned commentaries which shee left written touching the fortunes of her house, they are almost vtterly lost, sauing only as PLINIE the older, and CORNELIVS TACITVS haue cited out of them a fragment, or two, which are their only remaines, (our misfortune more then hers) for any thing knowne to mee to the contrarie. The very same night of her murther (such was the odious haste) shee was laid forth on a banqueting bed, and funerally burned, without other herse, or greater solemnitie. So the old text of the twelue tables, wherein it was commanded, that no man should plaine, or polish the wood vsed for the burning of bodies, seemes not in her case infringed. Neither, during all NERO's dayes, was the earth which had beene broken-vp to make her funeral fire-pitt, cast in againe, or the ground it selfe either railed about, or otherwise enclosed. After his death, her household-people bestowed a simple sepulcher vpon her, in the place where TACITVS hath described it, neare the way to MISENUM, and the high-seated house of the dictator CÆSAR, ouer-looking the bay of BAIÆ. That very sepulcher, at this day extant, and called AGRIPPINA's, is figured on the rooffe, and sides with sphinxes, and griphons, but greatly sullied with the smoake of torches, and lights borne in by such as enter. GEORGE SANDYS, as an eye-witnesse testifies it, in his generous trauails. Those figures seeme to haue beene the
badges

badges, or symbols of her ancestrie. For AVGVSTVS CÆSAR (saith PLINIE, & SVETONIVS) vsed the sphinx in his signet, or scale of armes; and ANTONIVS AVGVSTINVS (whom some haue styled the prince of antiquaries) hath published out of his treasurie a coigne with a sphinx, as one of that emperours coigns, who was her maternall ancestor.

To declare what the griphons signifie, some OEDIPVS, or oracle must be found; vnlesse perhaps they were the tesseras, or tokens of honor, belonging to the CLAVDII, her paternal progenitours, as the sphinxes were of her mothers kindred. If any would rather haue them stand for AGRIPPINAS inuestiues against POPPÆA SABINA, as a most faire, but a most cruel beast, and against NERO himselfe, as a most griping biformed monster, or to lock vp vnder them some other allusive, or moral sense, I will not dispute the matter. The Sunne to vvhom they vv ere antiently sacred must giue that more certaine light. My first diuination pleaseth my selfe best, as that which I repute most probable

affidently

And here the marucilous storie of AGRIP-
PINA AVGVSTA endeth; which I haue
with alike faithfulnesse as care, drawne out of the
most authenticke testimonies, and the clearest
lights which the reason and nature of the things
themselues would elicently beare.

CAAP. XVI.

AN ECLIPSE OF THE SVNNE, AND
THE DAY OF AGRIPPANAS
DEATH OBSERVED.

THIS hapned when VIPSANIVS, and
FONTEIVS were Consuls, in the very
yeare of that grand eclypse of the Sunne
which XI PHILINE saith was such, that the
very starres of heauen appeared. That solemne
feast, QVINQVATRVS, in honor of MINER-
VA, to the celebration whereof she was most ef-
ficiouly invited by her sonne, with purpose to
haue her dispatched out of the world, was vpon
the fifth day after the Ides of March (including
the Ides, according to the Gruterian Fragments of
ROMAN inscriptions) & her plotted shipwracke
was vpon the very night of that feast. Her tragadie
therefore, by this computation, fell vpon the twen-
tieth of March; but constituting the QVINQVA-
TRVS (as some more warrantable doe) vp-
on the thirteenth Kalends of Aprill, it was
then the one and twentieth of March. A grea-
ter argument of diuine wakings ouer the doings
of men, that afterwards vpon the very same day
of the month, vpon which this mighty emperesse
perished

perished, the newes of the reuolt of GALLIA, which drew on NERO's destruction, came first of all to NERO's knowledge. This eclipse, and other signes, all of them declarations of a iust offence taken in heauen at a fact which far outwent all aërie monsters, & common prodigies, gaue occasion to noble TACITVS to breake forth into anger, at the long patience of his Gods, who susterd NERO to continue in life, and villanie, rather showing therein his sense of the indignitie, then to insinuate a carelesnesse in powers diuine. Howbeit, his words found not well, and LIPSIVS, aswell as SAVILE, notes to vs an Epicurean faith in them. Otherwise, what are a few yeares permitted to malefactors for repentance, or to render them inexcusable at the iudgement-day, compared to that eternitie which shall punish them? Nor could gods forbearance of NERO seeme too long, for a thousand yeares are short, & the vengeance which ouertooke him late to TACITVS, ouertooke him soone to the truth; the weight of the vengeance considered. When the senate, and people sacrificed at his comming to ROME, for ioy of his preservation (for that was the name which office found out to diuert the note of crime) that grand eclips of the Sunne, seene (saith PLINIE) in ITALIE betweene seauen & eight, in ARMENIA betweene ten and eleuen, shewed an horroure at their offerings. Nor that the vnaptest diuination, for neuer were men so fould ouer to basenesse of flatterie, and irreligious simulations as at this time they, to content, & assure their NERO. XIPHILINE, out of DIO, befriends the Sunne, in saying the whole face of his light was darkened in that obscuration
(which

(which I O S E P H S C A L I G E R, and reason denies) for that part was unhappie which was vnhidden, nor did this actuall eclipse portend these deeds, but mourne their doings, for it hapned, according to M A R C I A N V S, vpon the eleuenth Kalends of May, or the one and twentieth day of April, the very month-day it selfe after A G R I P P I N A ' S death. The constant rule which fore-showes eclipses led the learned to expect some dismal euent, none more vnnaturall then this mother-slaughter. Hee was then in the fifth yeare of his empire, and so far within the fifth, as from within October, till the aforesaid day of March.

CHAP. XVII.

NERO'S PART AFTER HIS MOTHERS END, TO VVARDS THE CLOZE OF HIS FIRST FIVE YEARES.

BVt the crime of N E R O did not determine in the killing of her. For the charging her as with highest treason when shee was dead, and her life being taken away without defense, or notice, vpon that supposition, by the proper authoritie of S E N E C A then of B U R R H V S, added calumnation to paricide. Though this vvas no improbable rumor, considering both her minde, and her menaces. But S E N E C A from the very first entrance of N E R O, strongly concurred to barre her from svaying in empire, and it vvas hee, and his partie in court vvhich first outed
PALLAS,

PALLAS, her principall instrument, and finally eiected her. And therein hee was not thought to haue deserued amisse of mankind, or of the ROMAN name, her nature being bloudy, fierie, and busie, as altogether became the roote of such an of-spring. But the fact once committed, and a wide passage set open for the introduction of his dearest POPPEA, through the deadly wounds of AGRIPPINA, there rose a new care how to satissie the world. A knot more hard to vntye, then the vnstringing of her life. At the last yet, among all the salues, and remedies thought vpon in a case so scandalous, a letter was diuised by SENECA in NERO's name to the conscript Fathers, wherein with much preface of sorrow, hauing declared his owne certaine danger, and the wonder of his narrow escape from being murdered by her procurement, hee also vsed these passionate words, as QVINCTILIAN cites them, *I do not as yet either beleue I am safe, or care whether I am or no.* As if saith TACITVS (probably reflecting vpon the same sentence) the man had been angry that himselfe had not rather perished. And though it was held a meere dissimulation, yet could hee say no lesse, & nature might returne with such a compungent quicknes after his minde grew clearer (which alwayes happens) that not only the sense of those words, but his weepings for her might be also true. His gripes in conscience, and affrights in his senses are euery-where confest. The successe of NERO's epistle left a grievous taxation vpon the secretarie who endited it, because while hee went about to show the reason, and necessitie of the fact, hee confessed the doing, which was contrary to the resolution in counsell,

counsell, certainly to the intended qualitie of the fame, for that (saith SVETONIVS) was diuulged as if she had voluntarily slaine her selfe to auoid an open condemnation.

CHAP. XVIII.

CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING
THE PREMISSES, AND
COMMONWEALE.

THese two terrible examples in the persons of BRITANNICVS, and AGRIPPINA, gaue all the world to vnderstand, that there was now no hold, nor assurance in his nature, for any dearenesse, or title, which could afford defense either against his feare, or hate. And while the factions of a diuided palace countermined each the other, POPPÆA growing no lesse pernicious, then AGRIPPINA had bene turbulent, NERO got loose from all the modest tyes of his breeding, & SENECA found his authoritie shaken at the very bottome. For without a woman there was no paramount working with NERO, after once hee turn'd absolute, as now hee beganne to doe. Therefore though SENECA was able by obsequious ACTE to plucke him from his mothers diuine embraces, hee could not vse the poore wench to any such purpose against the predominant POPPÆA. By those occasions a new side was erected, consisting of such as had but litle other hope then in CÆSARS vices, nor any other like scope as the seruing of themselves.

selues. As for the Senate and people, they had very small care, or feeling in generall what the prince did vniust for his own satisfaction, in some few particulars, vpon what grounds soeuer, so long as it went well with themselues. Though by the words in TACITVS of such as detracted from the glory of PÆTVS THRASEA, in the case of the SYRACVSAN playes, many points of estate might haue beene better ordered then they were, euen within the commended five yeares. And though wicked deeds should not bee done at all, yet when they were don by him whom they could not punnish, euen good men were glad to make the best of that which neither could be recalled, nor holpen. A patriots, and awise-mans office.

CHAP. XIX.

THE GHOSTE OF AGRIPPINA,
AND OTHER APPARITIONS
AFFLICTING NERO.

THe death of his mother in the spring of the yeare, brought forth a fresher spring of popular delights, and as if her life, like an vnseasonable barre, had hitherto hindred the fulnes of such benefit, the blessings of a goldē age immediately seemed to follow. Banished persons were recalled, other acts of clemency exercised, & playes vpon playes, for entertainment of generall affecti-

ons, set forth, and celebrated. Her relicks in the meane while remained honor-lesse. Another scandall of NERO's reigne. But though her name, & memorie was thus of purpose ouer-borne, yet, as if that fellnesse of spirit which shee had aliue, were growne more violent since shee died, her appearing ghost, & the furies of hell, with whips, and firebrands, by his owne confession haunted him at times, and tormented him euer after. For auoiding of which infernall vexations, hee consulted, and practised with magicians, to come to her speech, and entreate her forgiuenesse. A vaine attempt, when it was his conscience which formed his imagination, and acted in his senses; neither had SIMON Magus whom hee specially fauoured, but SIMON PETRVS, the proper receipt of quieting soules, had hee sought it. Guiltinesse is the immortall fiend of grieuous crimes, and conuerts the conscience to an hell on earth; nor is there cause for the wise or sober to repine at the seeming felicities of cuill princes, because their mindes are vncessantly tormented. Nothing can afford sound peace but only innocencie. This is the first, and only mention of NERO's vse for magicke, to which (saith PLINIE) hee vvas extremely adicted. DIO adds, that hee presented to the people most magnificent shovves, & playes to the honor of his mothers memorie, soone after her murther. But farre beyond all his princely doings in this iolly, and Iouial kinde (if I may vse those lighter epithets) vvas the ordaining of his five-yearly playes, and prizes at ROME, in emulation of those other, the most famous of Greece, and of all the world, called of their place OLYMPIAN, and with vniuersall confluence celebrated
in

in ELIS, a prouince of PELOPONESVS His blossoming youth, & light opinions most easily carried him to things pleasant, and in appearance glorious.

CAAP. XX.

OF THE FIVE-YEARLY PLAYES,
AND PRIZES INSTITVTED AT
ROME BY NERO, AND OF
HIS STVDIES.

HEE had accomplished five yeares of empire, and as much more as from October till Ianuary, when hee entred his fourth Consulship, hauing for his fellow in office CORNELIVS COSSVS LENTVLVS. In perpetual remembrance of which space of yeares compleate, hee ordained Prizes, and Playes, which of his owne name were stiled by him NERONIA, prouided that vpon euery fifth yeares end they should for euer be kept & solemnized. The compasse of time betweene the OLYMPIAN agons comprehended only fower yeares full, and was termed an OLYMPIAD: these other Agons (for that is the proper word) contained the finished reuolution of five yeares, which the ROMANS called *Lustrum*. Excepting that diuersitie, of computation, the rest of the institution agreed with the Greeke rule. NERO'S Prizes, or Agons haue three seuerall titles, Musicke, Actiuitie, and Horle-races; and in the word Musicke those trialls of wit which were

made in prose, and verse, and are mentioned in TACITVS, were vndoubtedly vnderstood. This imitation cannot be discredited, because hee was the author; for it boasted noblesse in an high degree, and that also gloriously acknowledged by decree of the Senate in this present coigne.

NERO himselfe had the honor of eloquence in these first agons at ROME: an honor worthy for a prince to affect, specially, where not only the aduancement of language, and ciuil letters, but of wisdom, and vertue, and of the common good are arguments; or finall causes of that affectation. His principall end in this foundation was the glory of his name. The garland belonging to the victorie of playing on the harp was his highest ambition. ZOSIMVS diuides the agons of this festiuitie into only two sorts, *scenicke* and *gymnicke*, leauing out the horse-races. Stage-playes certainly had now also their places heere, but not the *pantomime*, or mute actor, who by speaking gestures, and change of postures did silently expresse what either the poet exprest in words, or the musicke in notes. Wrestlings, runnings, driuings of chariots, Circensian races, and the

the like, tooke vp the remainder of the time. Succeeding princes vpheld this institution, and when it was out-worne with neglect and time, GORDIANVS the younger reuiued it, and by his best meanes, endeauor'd to make the five-yearly custome euerlasting; it was so pleasing to the multitude. Bread, and playes (saith IUVVENAL) the only care of the common sort at ROME, nor doth TACITVS in his historie speake otherwise of them in NERO's time. For the seruice of this magnificent foundation hee finished vpon the next ensuing yeare his *Thermae*, and *Gymnasium*, which (as PHILOSTRATVS saith) were molt admirable works. DEMETRITS the CYNICK (when CÆSAR, the Lords, & people; kept the first feast of the dedication of those buildings with all sorts of ioy, and sacrifices) had almost incurred a capitall mischiefe, by openly reproving the vse of *Thermae*, or warme bathes, because it did soften manhood, and led to luxurie. His reasons were rather vntimely, then vntrue. The antient GREEKE *Gymnasium* was diuided into three chiefe spaces, or actiuitie-yards, fitted with buildings, and beautified with images in a stately manner, those courts or fields seuerally named the *Xystus*, the *Plethrium*, and the *Maltho*, and to them belonged the *Hierus* and *Tetragonon*, two other courts, or places. These were as the schooles of such manly maistries, for which at the OLYMPIAN games, there was either place, or prize. The iudges, called *Hellandiki*, were reputed sacred, and so were likewise the trialls themselves. The estimation of a victorie was great aboue all beliefe, when CICERO (nor that overreachingly) hath left it written in one of his orations,

orations, that to haue beene declared best, though but at leaping, wrestling, or the like exercises of manhood in those publicke and generall trials, was held a matter of as much glory, as it was at R O M E to ride in triumph. A thing neuer granted there but for subduing kings, and nations in set battle with the slaughter of at least five thousand armed enemies. Neither came they to be receiued into the cities of whence they were but with admirable preparations and celebrities vpon their returne, as it well appears in V I T R V V I V S, but infinitely better in the priuice of lyrick poets P I N D A R V S. The iudges (whose authoritie was most religiously reuerenced) did after the agon award the garland. The parties name was ceremoniously deliuered to the *Kerykes*, or as it might bee among vs to the heralds, and officers of honor, to proclaime it with sound of trumpet in the full, and open theater. The garland it selfe at the O L Y M P I A N prizes was of Oliue, and the honors, and priuiledges of the victor incredible. E V T Y M I V S, one of them, attained in remote antiquitie, to the opinion of a demigod. P A V S A N I A S hath the strange storie how hee outwrestled the deuill, such a champion hee was reputed. To the honor perhaps of this E V T Y M I V S, for the more countenance (as I take it) and grace of the N E R O N I A, was that gallant, and flourishing coigne, stamped at N E R O S commandement. His victorie was on foot, but N E R O (as it seemes) hath mouated him in his mony to a triumphal chariot.

CON-

CONSTANTIVS LANDVS (Earle of *Complana in Italie*) explicates this pompous figure otherwise ; the person in it to stand for the emperour NERO, & the name EVTYMIVS to signifie *secure* ; as if it were not EVTYMIVS in the coigne (which after that manner of writing signifieth (as I thinke) nothing at all) but EVTHYMVS, the name of that demigodded champion in PAVSANIAS. That noble gentlemans easie coniecture, I infringe not, for without reproofe of the coignes inscription I cannot make good mine owne, no more then he can his. But I doe assure my selfe, and others, that coignes were published with hittoricall matter, and titles, to reviuue the memorie of antient stories for their more veneration sake : and nothing can be truer then that false writing is sometimes found in marbles, coignes, and other monuments. The common fault of vn ouerlookt artificers. This princely money minted by NERO in reuiuall of the rape of the SABIN women vnder ROMVLVS, may abundantly witnesse that custome which I mention on behalfe of my coniecture.

The

The studie of NERO was versification, which TACITVS thinks hee borrowed, hauing no guift therein at all. But SVBTONIVS (who in more things then this disagrees with TACITVS though vn-named) both proues hee had, and proues it well. It was one of his exercises to translate Greeke tragedies into Latine, who made true tragedies in bloud, such as euen the GREEKES neuer fained. But whatsoeuer his talent was that way, his admiration of it well deserued that hee should haue made prerogatiue verses, according to his fortunes. His owne perswasion aswell of abilitie, as of his long winde, was so magnificent, that hee meant to write in verse the affaires, and stories of the ROMANS, in fower hundred bookes. Such a reckoning as would haue bene much more conscionable, had APOLLO, or the MVSES made it. ANNÆVS CORNVTVS (whom he intended to vse as a principal maister in that faculty) durst say they were to many, & when some one or other vrged against him the example of CHRYSIPPVS, who composed as great a number of bookes, CORNVTVS reioynd, and said, that the works of CHRYSIPPVS, containing wise discourse, were profitable. This distinction had almost extinguisht the speaker; for NERO's sur-reioinder

reioinder was a sentence which sent CORNVTVS into banishment. The truth is, hee had a vaine in verse, and SENECA in his *Natural Questions* cites him vpon occasion, and highly praiseth one of his lines; which is indeed a daintie one. In PLINIE the argument of one of his poems appeares to haue beene the praise of his POPPEA. And MARTIAL (who seemes to fauour him) insinuates, that hee wrote like a learned wanton. So there is no doubt to be made at all of his poëticall Genius, though it pleased LVCAN (in CASAVBONS SVETONIVS) vmannerly to repeat an halfe-verse of his to the tune of a lowd report backward, where their goddesse CLOACINA was serued. There seemes not a graine of good salt in all his writings, but admirations, & defixions of the soule vpon beauteous outsidcs. A wit of the middle region, which only serued to sweeten his sensualities. The arts hee delighted-in declare as much, for though they were noble, yet far beneath the maiestie of a princes minde. No man discommends the true fingerings, or delicate touches of a maister, vpon a well-strung instrument, nor the stroaks of a skilfull pencill in painting, nor the art of grauing. These were his. But a prince ought to mount higher, & thinke better. This obiection was met-with. Therefore, after supper it was his custome to admit to his care, and presence, such as TACITVS, (speaking compasse) calles *Docters of Wisdomc*, to auoide the word *Philosophers*, as not beeing *Latin* enough. They were admitted so far. But his hearing (as it seemes) dealt enuiously with his vnderstanding, for their sayings suncke not in. Yet neither did they want grauitie, nor hee

liberalitie. Those studies the chiefe title which SENECA had to gather all his riches, as hee himselfe acknowledged to NERO. The riotous youths of these our times vniuersally more studious of wittie then discrete, of odde conceits then solid. No title to accessse, and copious che-
 rishments with princes, more worthy then the studie of wisdom, and where it languisheth manners are euer more degenerous. A prince, according to NERO's garb (take him as hee was popular, and not as a tyrant) would sort rarely well with them, who doe either not know, or not enough regarde, that with all his wast of wealth, and formes of vanitie, hee made to himselfe none other friends but the vitious vulgar, and such lewde ignoble persons as liued vpon the times impurities, as TACITVS most grauely hath obserued in his histories. Wittie flashes doe conditionally well; but, if that were their best vse, the giift of poësie were with little reason styled diuine. There are who lay other studies in the bottome to balasse the fierie leuities of concept, and only they doe honor the Muses with their manners. Those other while they vnlearnedly, and miserably mistake licence for freedom, are oftentimes pleasant companie, but neuer good.

CHAP. XXI.

OF THE COVNSEL OF HISTORIE
FOR THE WORSE PART OF NE-
RO'S REIGNE, AFTER HIS
FIRST *Quinquennium*.

Such was NERO, according to the brieft I haue giuen of him, during his first five yeares; and wether the worst of that which followes should at all be remembred, were a point to be argued, if the whole truth were not of the necessity of historie. FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS neuertheless drawes a curtaine ouer his personall, and publicke exorbitancies, & leaues them vndisplaid. For I hold it far better (saith hee) to burie their description in silence, then to make knowne, in what measure out of measure hee abused his power, through ouer great prosperitie, and riches, because I thinke it will be troublous, and offensive. The same reuerence makes mee also willingly say, and thinke the same. So much the rather, because all bookes are full fraught with particulars which declare the great reason, why the name of NERO signifies now, by his defaults, a tyrant in the excellencie, who supposing all the world ordain'd for his peculiar ends, regards nothing but the satisfaction of his owne irregular appetites, without respect to God, or man. And what monster was hee not, who though hee made away the nearest of his friends, and the best of his people, yet perpetrated such other things, as in parallel with which, those actions though more then barbarous, doe not seeme intollerable?

CHAP. XXII.

IN ADDRESSE OF SPEECH TO
MY LORD, TOVCHING THAT
WHICH FOLLOVVES IN
NEROS REIGNE.

SOME of the lesser matters shall not bee vn-worthy my hand, or your Lordships care and view, which accustomed to most honorable objects shall auoide hereby the horreur, and offense which may rise by the contrary. For neither can the modestie of your most noble nature delight in shamefull wonders, nor stands it with the dignitie of those most roiall infusions which fashion your heroicke habits, to suffer such vices to approach within sight, which in their proper station are far beyond the kenn of common villanies. Therefore men of tender feelings in conscience had rather beleue them to be fained, then done indeede. IOSEPHVS (a most discrete and credible author) professiuelly affirms, that the euill will of some writers hath painted NERO much more prodigious in his life and reigne, then truth would beare, but withall confesseth him so bad, that there needed no falshoods to make him seeme worse. There were also who wrot highly in his fauour, as the same IOSEPHVS saith. CALIGVLA's incest, with all his three sisters was abominable, but the way of their vse not vn-naturall, but what NERO did in his male wife, SPORVS, or suffered by his titularie husband, PYTHAGORAS (SVETONIVS calls him DORYPHORVS) are shamefull wonders, and like-ly

ly, if any other else, to bee of those whom I O S E P H V S singly thought were impudent vnruthes, or (to vse his owne rough roundnesse) lyes. But the best chaine to be vsed in the euolution of facts is composed of the linckes of time, in order as they were done; To antedate, or postdate may bee equally vnequall. As for them vvho delight in strange matters, they shall know vvhat seemes to mee the greatest maruaile of N E R O 's reigne, seeing vvce are vpon entrance into the vvorld thereof.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE PRINCIPALL WONDER OF
NERO'S TIME, AND OF
PRINCEDOME.

THat sacred monarckie could preferue the people of R O M E from finall ruine, notwithstanding all the prophanations, blasphemies, & scandals of tyranous excesses, vvherevvith N E R O defiled & defamed it, is the vvonder vvwhich no other forme of gouernement could performe, and is the principall both of his time, and of principedome it selfe. A vvonder of imperi- all maiestie vvithin the vvonder of most extreame vvvorthynesse. But the ioynts, and compactures of the empires fabricke vnder an head, vvcre so supple, and solid, that vvhat S E N E C A vvorthely praised in generall, as the prerogatiue of monarckie, is exemplified true in this. Neither is it basenesse, or madnesse (saith that famous Sage)

Sage) for thousands to take weapon in hand for the defense of one person, or with many deaths to redeeme the single life of an olde perhaps, and feeble man, for they tender their proper safeguard, while they fight for their princes, in whose weale, or woe their owne is comprehended. To this purpose he, with a great deale more. But whereas the sentence points vpon CLAVDIVS, who was that olde, and feeble man, it holds good not only to olde, and feeble, but to all sorts of princes persons, whether olde, or young, tame or violent, ciuil, or sauage. The truth whereof appeared before in CALIGVLA, now in NERO, & after-wards in other wicked rulers. Therefore it vvas possible, that the empire should be kept together for the vices of the people of ROME, by permitting all power to one, though it was to that inhumane SYLLA, who first of mortalls taught his country to feele (saith *Halicarnassian* DIONYSIVS) that the Dictatorship was a tyrannie; it had not otherwise beene possible. And if NERO, (in whom alone all the corruptions which had beene engendred in ROME, from the birth of ROME till his owne dayes, seem'd drawne together into one apostem, or bile) could not putrisie those strengths which princedom gaue more vnto the state, then either the commons, or the nobles when they ruled all, who can enough admire, or reuerence that sacred institution which verue crownes, and vice cannot dissolue? The excellencies of it speake their author: for so diuine a good as the fast connection of mankind together in one vnder one, could bee the gift of onely God, vvho in his gouernement of heauen, and earth, doth

doth vse none other forme; himselfe a King
and monarck.

THE END OF THE FIRST
FIVE YEARES OF NE-
RO, HIS MOST COM-
MENDED TIME.

CHAP. XXIIII.

THE REVOLT IN BRITAINE AND
OTHER TROVBLES OF
WARRE.

IN ROME there vvas nothing all the vvhile
but songs, and dances, and all sorts of publicke
shovves, and iollities, some of them most despe-
rately lasciuious, and impudent (NERO their
author, and example) without much cause of
feare, or sadhesse to any but the good. But these
were suddainely either sown'd, or marred for the
time, with the newes, and cumber of the maine
reuolt in BRITAINE. To show how the ROMANS
came to bee in the way of so terrible a blow as
they receaued now, I will giue a briefer reherfall of
their

their first arriua ll, till the Consulships of CÆSONIVS PÆTVS, and PETRONIVS TVRPILIANVS, vnder NERO, the yeare and time of this furious defection. And if I shall seeme somewhat more copious in recapitulation then for the occasion, it is neuerthelesse within vse and decorum, because it will compendiously serue for all that was ROMAN in our Island.

§. I.

*An introductorie somme of affaires in Britain
from the Romans first entrance vnder
Iulius Cæsar, till the present
reuelts vnder Nero.*

ONE hundred and ten yeares therefore were now outrunne, from the Consulships of CNEVS POMPEIVS and MARCVS LICINIVS CRASSVS, since CAIVS IVLIVS CÆSAR, in the name of the Senate and people of ROME, transported certaine legions, for glories sake, and for the more quiet possession of his conquests in GALLIA, to inuade, and conquer BRITAIN. A thing which neuer any ROMAN had attempted, and SCIPIO did at most but harken-after. If that at leastwise bee the meaning of PYTHEAS, the friuolous MASSILIAN in STRABO. To empeach this loftie purpose, the state of the VENETI (that chiefe commonweale of GALLIA ARMORICA) had made a puissant league arming out
to

to sea about two hundred saile of men of warr to fight with CÆSAR, because BRITAIN (saith STRABO) was their principall mart; of which his conquest would bereaue them. It was the refuge also of the calamitous people of the continent; who sought to bee safe and free from the power of the ROMANS, against whom the BRITANNs cuermore relieued, and supported the GALLS. Vpon which strict assistance CÆSAR chiefly grounded the pretense of his inuasion, truely perswading himselfe that hee could not hold GALLIA firme, vnlesse withall hee subdued BRITAIN. But the VENETI were solicitous for their neighbours, and allies in vaine. For their noble combination proued tragically pernicious to their fortunes, liues, and liberties. CÆSAR therefore varesistably goes on. For the spirit of conquest, which moued thus forceably in him, is a most vehement spirit, and stirres not at all, but for the higher ends of the worlds supreme commander; as to bring backe commonweales to monarchies; to alter kingdomes from one family, and people to another; to make one kingdom of many; to humble the insolent; to new mould and fashon the barbarous; to blend and mingle nations; to confound, and extirpate others; or the like; at his celestiall pleasure. If it were otherwise, why should there bee at one time a CYRVs, long after him an ALEXANDER, or now a VLIVS CÆSAR, rather then at another?

§. II.

*The Britanns at bloudie olds among themselves,
vpon Iulius Cæsars inuasion.*

THe iland then was full of ciuil warres, as well because it was full of petie kings, as for other perplexiue respects, growing out of the distinction of originals among the most early, or most antient races, and the later ones, CASSIBELINE in BRITAINNE, head of the one, and, of the other, DIVITIACVS in GALLIA, to whom king GALBA succeeded. Contrarie to that preceptiue oracle of HOMER, *let there bee but one king; for more then one doe not well.* The best of APOLLOS oracles no truer. In this estate of things the weaker states of BRITAINNE could not otherwise preferue themselves then by the counterpoise of leagues; till the endlesse iniquities of disagreeing princes enforced parties to fly vnder foreigne guards as to auoide oppressions at home. This the tragicall case of that poore distressed prince MANDVBRAIVS, whose father (late king of the TRINOBAINTS) was slaine by CASSIBELINE. MANDVBRAIVS himselfe (whom domesticke monuments call by another name) compelled to quit his countrey, did not therefore quit his claime. So notable an opportunitie of the islanders intestine diuisions (though not acknowledged by CÆSAR, as a motiue of his attempt) could not but bee a speciall hand to becken him ouer, and bring him in.

§. III.

*The effects of Cæsars two inuasions, and his
finall returne out of Britaine.*

CÆSARS first inuasion with onely two legions did rather knocke at entrance then fix a title. The second with eight hundred saile, and aboard of them aboute thirtie thousand ROMAN foote, and two thousand horse, in fiue whole legions (a bodie of force somewhat proportionable to the enterprises qualitie) was principally dedicated to the recouerie of his shine of honor, endangered to the darkning notes of rashnesse, and infelicitie in the yeare next before; from which the death of IULIA his only child, the wife of POMPEI, which happened (saith SENECA) during these BRITAN affairs, was notable to withdraw him; though a matter of such infinite importance, that it dissolued the barre which kept their emulations from encountring, and drew vp the floodgate it selfe, through the which whole diluges of humane blood shortly after rushing in, did ouerflow the ROMANE world. In that most iealous point of reputation CÆSAR competently satisfied himselfe by those performances of his armies which the compasse of one summer saw effected, and his owne incomparable commentaries specific. Where nothing sounds more honorable or shoves more conspicuous then the restoring of MANDVBRA TVS to his fathers throne vpon the petition of the

TRINOBANTS. Touching the generall effects of his labours, STRABO speaks the truth, that diuine IULIUS CÆSAR did no great thing in BRITAIN, though (whatsoever CICERO sportingly saith to the contrarie) hee returned enriched with many captiues, and store of spoiles. It is withall most true, that it was not an act of ordinarie magnanimitie, or felicitie, to show the way ouer the separating sea into such a most mighty and most populous Iland. And yet hee did somewhat more then only show the way ouer. For the testimoniall arguments of conquests (hostages, and some yearly payments) were first by him ordained here in part; and CASSIBELINES hands were tyed fast (in the articles of his render) from molesting MANDVBATIVS. One only particular of all the spoiles remaines remembered, a brestplate embroidered, or set with British pearles, which CÆSAR consecrated to mother VENVS, as to the most friendly patronesse of his fortunes, and the originall of his family, in token whereof hee ware a seale (saith DIO) with an armed VENVS in it. Pearles nothing cleare nor ponderous, but duskie, & small (saith PLINIE) and therefore altogether vnworthy of such a goddesse. But as they were the fruites of our OCEAN, and the purchase of CÆSAR, they had a greatnesse of value, and a brightnesse of luster which might easily make them exceed Orientall vnions of the clearest water. As for the BRITAN captiues, CICERO is pleased to write, that hee feared none would be found among them either musitians or scholars, whereby to aduance their maisters benefit by their sales in markets. A scorne to the rudenesse of the peoples breeding. No man
of

of note taken prisoner, but LVGOTORIX, whom gloriously enough CÆSAR calles a noble captaine. But the *Druids*, *Bards*, and *Eubages*, (the three orders in AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS of the old BRITISH Academs) founded by OSTHANES the second (as PLINIE, mee thinks insinuates) may sufficiently relate, & blunt that scolfe of TVLLIES. To bee subdued by the more polite, and noble is no infelicitie to the barbarous, so as corporall seruitude, & reall iniuries bee forborne. For that wilde freedome, or ranging humor which is but meerely naturall, how sweete and pretious focuer it bee, the same, without the fillings of liberall acts, and file of honorable manners, which constitute and accomplish a worthy man, is but meerely brute, and sauage. Things thus ordred, CÆSAR presently retired into GALLIA and left nothing behinde him to vphold his fresh atchieuements here but the awefull maiestie of the names of ROME, and CÆSAR. Neither did hee greatly neede more, seeing his haruest of glorie was not such as to deserue his professiue, and particular ascription, for among those his five famous triumphs, recorded in VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS, the BRITAN by speciall name was not any.

rebat

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§. IIII.

*The Britans, and the things of Britain, a
part of Cæsars triumph ouer
the Galls.*

BVt CÆSAR who inserted our matters into his commentaries, would not wholly leaue them out in his GALLICK triumph. For I doe not otherwise vnderstand that place in LV-CAN, where hee complaines how much CÆSAR lost in glory, by conquering more then GALLIA, then that the captiue BRITANS were mixt with the captiue GALLS at this show: consequently, the things, or particulars of BRITAIN, with the things of GALLIA, aswell as their persons. Therefore the image of the ouerpassed Ocean; of the ile it selfe on a rocke, the cliffes, and downes of Kent (celebrated by QVINCTVS in an Epistle to his brother CICERO) father THAMESIS; those chariots of warre out of which (saith DIODORVS SICVLVS) the BRITANS fought like the old heroës of TROY, and which by a proper word were called *Effeda*, CASSIBELINES forrest-campe, or fastnesse (misnamed a towne) the breastplate, or curace embroïdred with BRITISH pearles, and such other portable small pageants (which by a proper word were called *fercula*, of beeing carried, or borne about in that manner) could not bee vngratefull spectacles, or not singularly condimentall at ROME, already glutted and tired with beholding the figures of eight hundred severall townes

as PLVTARCH reckons) forceably taken by CÆSAR in GALLIA, during there his ten yeares warres, and in one day all presented.

§. V.

Of the Britans, and the British chariot of Mæcenus vnder AVGVSTVS CÆSAR.

HIs next successor OCTAVIVS, who, in the consularie registers of the Capitol, is CAIVS IVLIVS CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS, second Emperour, and first AVGVSTVS, had somewhat else to thinke-of, at his entrance into the empire, then the affaires of BRITAIN. But when the ROMAN world, recouering out of those ciuill miseries, into which the murther of IVLIVS CÆSAR had headlong plunged it, began to flourish a fresh, by the benefite of monarchie (the onely confessed remedie) then came hee downe in person as farre as into GALLIA, with a purpose to re-assail our Iland, so to force vpon it the keeping of couenants (as DIO CASSIVS insinuates) about eight, or nine and twentie yeares from his predecessors inuasions. At this HORACE pointeth in his *Odes*. Some princes therfore of BRITAIN beholding the neere approach of so black a tempest, sent speciall ambassadors to deprecate the effects, and (for such reasons as STRABO commemorates) preuailed. IVLIVS CÆSAR assessed vpon the BRITANS of CASSIBELINES partie, a certaine yearely paiment (three thousand pounds,

pounds, saith GALFRIDVS *A turinus*) and it pleased AVGVSTVS to content himselfe with such pettie performances as did rather serue for tokens of subiection, or acknowledgments of tenure, then meriting to carrie the weight, or name of tribute, being cuttomes, or tolls vpon iuorie ornaments for bridles, carkanets, or chaines of amber, vessels of glasse, and other toyes, which passed for merchandize betweene the GALLS, and BRITANS. But why CILNIVS MOECENAS (that most ingenuous fauorite of AVGVSTVS, and euerlastingly renowned friend of free studies) did ride in a *British chariot*, it appeareth not. The thing is mentioned in PROPERTIVS, and shewes somewhat of a triumphal right, or glory, that HORACE may not vainly seeme to haue cast vpon AVGVSTVS the annexing of the BRITANS to the rest of ROMAN subiects, nor the Senate and people of ROME to haue vnwarrantably boasted of all the three parts of the then knowne world vnder his dominion (as in their coigns they did) if BRITAIN (so famous a limbe of EVROPE) were not within his triple pretense, three worlds combined in one.

A submission of those potentates of BRITAIN (I call them potentates whom CÆSAR would haue styled

Styled kings, and STRABO aptly termeth *Dynasts*) is evident out of the premisses. Evident also their acceptance into speciall protection, or societie; for thereupon they consecrated their inscribed gifts, presents, in the Capitol, with tender of their fealties. And the example of MOECENAS seemes to conuince, that AVGVSTVS, in gratulation to himselfe of so faire a felicitie, permitted the vse of speciall honours to speciall friends. A custome which following times frequented. If MOECENAS (as hee was conceitfull) tooke it not vponely for a fashion, as others afterwards did so fast, that PLINIE complaines of the cost bestowed on BRITISH chariots, and CALIGVLA's friends vsed no other to attend him, ouer his admirable bridge, in SVETONIVS. All this while the island was not yoaked downe with garrisons. Not a ROMAN souldier in it. And AVGVSTVS was so indulgent to the state thereof, or so prouident for his owne, in hauing kings for instruments of their proper seruitude, that hee bred vp (as the BRITISH story saith) king KYMBELINE (the third from CASSIBELINE) and the same with CVNOBELINE whom GREEKS and ROMANS celebrate.

§. VI.

*Of the peace of Britain, and of other rarest matters there,
vnder TIBERIVS CÆSAR.*

TO diuine AVGVSTVS (for that was the style of the time) TIBERIVS IVLIVS CÆSAR (according to the title of his
M changed

changed name) was furrogated by adoption who hauing both the liuely example of his adoptiue father, & his posthumous warrant vnder his own hand-writing also, to iustifie his forbearance to enlarge the R O M A N empire (a thing agreeable to his proper iudgement) attempted nothing which might disturbe our iland. Whereupon, together with the priuacy of situation, it securely enioyed the blessing of quietnesse vnder him. For the auerrment of VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS, that the peace of TIBERIVS AVGVSTVS diffused it selfe into *the west*, and into *all the angles of the earth*, doth vndoubtedly reach to BRITAIN, if it doth not by circumlocution name it also. During that deepe calme, the most heauenly light of Christian veritie shone ouer hither (saith GILDAS, the BRITAN Sage) soone after the passion, which hapned vnder TIBERIVS. His former cares (recorded in PLINIE, and TERTVLLIAN) for clearing GALL, and AFRICKE from inhumane superstitions, could not but accidentally prepare the BRITANS (among whom the *Druids* florished) for a more holy character. In the life which I haue diligently written of TIBERIVS there is more. Meane-while, such was hee to vs during his almost three and twentie yeares.

§. VII.

*Britaine menaced by Caligula Cæsar. A touch of
his follies, and towar.*

CALIGULA affected to seeme terrible to BRITAIN, and there might bee somewhat in his head to that purpose, when it was his pleasure that his troupes of friends should waite vpon him (mounted as before-sayd) ouer the semicircular bay of B A I Æ. But there was indeed iust reason why he should both seeme , and be terrible also , when his armie on this side the Alps contained, as some report in D I O, two hundred and fiftie thousand fighting men. A multitude so huge, as was alone enough to make him haue nothing to do but within himself. For which part of the world durst professe enemy to such a R O M A N force? While he lay houerling on the coast, eager of glory, and yet withall (as if the R O M A N eagle had been transform'd into a cowardly kight, or buzzard) vnwilling enough to finde out iust matter for it, our iland vomited forth A D M I N I V S (some would haue him written A R M I N I V S) the rebellious sonne of C V N O B E L I N E a B R I T A N king, with a thin company of his fellow runaways. A more foild, and reffuse ware then the shells which his souldiers afterwards gathered. But his ends were abundantly serued. For, vpon taking the submission of those fugitiues, he boasted himselfe (saith S V E T O N I V S) as if the whole iland had yeelded it selfe. But for a complete conquest, as well ouer sea, as land, he embatteld his huge army vpon the shores, and bent his warlicke engins

against NEPTVNE, and his TRITONS, while hee, & his selected friends lanced out in their gallies, as far perhaps as to be sea-ficke, and then returned such a victor ouer the BRITAN *Ocea*, as he had bin ouer the BRITAN iland. For vpon a charge founded (that part of the ridiculous storie is commonly knowne) the souldiers, at his command, gathered the shellfish they found, and stored vp the shells as *the spoyles of the Ocean, due to the Capitol, and Palace.* Which they could not doe but vpon an ebbe. A time chosen out (& that a circumstance, in which the whole salt of the stratagem lay) as if the trembling element had retired it selfe not of course, but for feare of him; the noyse of his artillery, armes, and trumpets able to out-clamour and deafen, not onely a quiet, or murmuring sea, but a fierce and raging one. There followed vpon the seruice a real largesse in money, and the galleyes were carried for a great part of the way, ouer land, to ROME, as sacred moniments. CALIGVLA neuerthelessse did not fulfill a triumph, though his wife CÆSONIA (as PERSIVS satyrically noteth) ordered the preparations for it. But that the memorie of such an exploit might neuer perish, hee built vpon the place an exceeding high tower, the same to be also a sea-marke, with fire on the top by night, as if hee meant to match the *Pharus* it selfe of ALEXANDRIA. Most cōtend, that this was at *Brittenhuis* in HOLLAND; but LÆVINVS TORRENTIVS (a worthy man) admonisheth vs, that others hold it to haue been at KERBURG, or CHERBURG in NORMANDIE. Somewhat verily of KAISARS, or CÆSARS name seems to remaine aliue in the name of the place. Others suspect, that the tower, call'd by the Dutch, and vs, *the old man of BOLEIN*, by the French

French, *tour d'ordre*, at this day standing very high vpon the port of BOLEIN, is either it, or out of it. The inhabitants entitle the same to IVLIVS CÆSAR as the author; which doth not hinder, but that he may well be CALIGVLA. For in the rolls of the Capitol, CALIGVLA is expressly entred CAIVS IVLIVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS. Thus, of so notorious a peece of masonrie, the very feat is doubtfull. The workes of foolish princes as their counsels, come to nothing. The fame of their folly is immortall, and that alone. *Caligula came to the Ocean as to warre in Britain.* The words of DIO, and XI PHILINE out of DIO. And they compared with his intention, seeme to carry his encampment and towring structure, far enough of from HOLLAND. For as mad as he was he could not but know, by IVLIVS CÆSARS example, there were nearer cuts ouer hither then so. BRITAIN in themeane while, sat firme vpon her rockie foundations, as vnshaken with the brauado, as with billowes. Not a ROMAN souldier in it.

§. VIII.

The conquest of Britain vnder CLAVDIVS CÆSAR. A rare coigne of his concerning the state thereof.

BUT CLAVDIVS CÆSAR, who in the *fasti* of the Capitol (that noble moniment) is TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS, about twentie yeares before this grand reuolt of the BRITANS vnder NERO, professiuelly reuiued

uiued the example of his diuine predeceſſor, I V-
 L I V S CÆ S A R, and with all ſorts of warlike
 prouiſions, made a voyage ouer in perſon: The
 vulgar BR I T I S H hiſtory (in which neither is
 all vnlikely, nor vntrue) aſſignes the occaſion
 which C L A V D I V S tooke for his coming, to
 be *the deniall of the tribute* by the ſonne of K Y M-
 B E L I N E, who (if he was the ſame with that royall
 perſon whom the GREEKE, and ROMAN authors
 call C Y N O B E L I N E) was dead before. D I O
 C A S S I V S for the time of his death affirms no
 leſſe. There was alſo a tumult in the ile, becauſe
 (ſaith SVETONIVS) *the fugitiues were not ſent backe.*
 A D M I N I V S (as I ſuppoſe) and his adherents. So
 the detention of tribute ſeems to haue been in re-
 priſall, to force their reſtitution. And here the part
 of that B E R I C V S comes aptly in, who (as D I O
 ſaith) was *expulſed* out of BR I T A N, *for ſedition.*
 The cauſe not hard to find, conſidering the pre-
 miſes, if B E R I C V S may be thought one of the
 A D M I N I A N faction. But of theſe things let o-
 thers reaſon. Here certainly our iland firſt began
 to feele indeed the weight of conqueſt. CÆ S A R
 had a M A N D R V B A T I V S to induce, and train
 him on, and C L A D I V S a baniſhed B E R I C V S.
 The computation of force in A V G V S T V S time,
 fit to hold BRITAIN in obedience (according
 to S T R A B O's account) was extremely vnder the
 marke. *One legion and ſome horſe.* CAMDEN (the king
 of our antiquaries, and not of arms onely) reckons
 vp three whole legions, the *ſecond*, the *ninth*, and
 the *fourteenth*, impoſed by C L A V D I V S to retain
 his martiall purchaſe. Sure I am, that when the
 BR I T A N S fell from N E R O, there was another
 called the *twentieth*; all foure of them mentioned
 in

in TACITVS, where he chronicles the defection, and all foure few enough. Yet NERO was so farre from augmenting the ROMAN forces here, with extraordinaries, that but for very shame (as S. V. ETONIVS saith) he had euen reuoked the ligiers. Howbeit STRABO's estimate, supposing equitie, and AVGVSTVS, might be a full proportion. For the odds are not small in the severall natures of times, which extremely alter the states of power. A few, vnder a wise and venerable prince, are vrtually as many as thrice their number vnder a vaine, or violent. With iniurie no force is not weake, with iustice no fewnesse is not strong. Sentences verifide vnder NERO in BRITAIN; vnder whom euen the deitie of CLAVDIVS was made a greater burthen to the BRITANS (as appears by that of which themselues complaine in TACITVS) then CLAVDIVS himself was when aliue. Among those pretious coignes which the treasure of ANTONIVS AVGVSTINVS hath afforded to the world, I finde one of CLAVDIVS concerning BRITAN *peaceable*, omitted by all men who haue of purpose handled our affairs.

What the left hand of the image held, vnluckely appears not, in that faire printed copie, with which it pleased a great, and generous Earle to befriend

friend me. It might be a *garland*, a *cornucopia*, a little *winged victorie*, or the like, but I could thinke it was some *round figure*, the signe of tribute-money. The whole may signifie, that CLAVDIVS, the conquerour of BRITAIN, ciuilsed the subdued BRITANS. The persons gowned habit a manifest token of it, who is otherwise wont to be represented martial, and vncllothed. And though the rudder, or helme of a ship, which here BRITANIA holds downward in her right hand as a rest, doth ordinarily signifie nothing else, in antient ROMAN coigns, but that the countrey whose figure appears vpon the metal, is an island, whereunto there is no accessse but by water, yet here perhaps it further noteth, that not onely, the nauigation of BRITAIN florished by his meanes, but that tillage, formerly neglected, did also set vp now, & prosper, if that which coucheth behind, be not the halfe part of a ship, but the hinder end of an antique plough. A coigne put forth into the world after the Southerne BRITANS were prouinciati, and the ROMAN gouernment fully settled here. Nor improbably when the colonie of old souldiers was drawne, and planted at CAMALODVNVM, in the twelfth year of CLAVDIVS. For that was precisely the time, as that most modest, and antient good friend of mine, WILLIAM CAMDEN *Clarenceux*, hath happely, and learnedly obserued out of another of CLAVDIVS medalls. CAMALODVNVM the place, vpon which the raging tempest of rebellion did first discharge the force of it self, as the insolencies of that colonie were among the heinous sparkes which firde the wronged natiues. This in generall was the case, and state of BRITAIN, so farre as the ROMANS intermedled,
from

from the first entrance of IULIVS CÆSAR thereinto, who what hee could not materiallic annex to the main-land, attempted to fasten vertuallie to the empire, as an out-worke.

CHAP. XXV.

THE INTERMITTED NARRATION
OF THE REVOLT OF BRITAIN
VNDER NERO, PROSE-
CVTED.

After the death of consecrated CLAVDIVS, BRITAIN, with the rest of the ROMAN world, comming vnder the scepter of NERO, it was nowe of his reigne the seuenth yeare, CÆSONIVS, and PETRONIVS Consuls, when the incensed BRITANNs, led by a woman and a widowe, reuengefullie writ her quarrell in the blood of thousands of enemies. For such they esteemed all who were either free of ROME, or of the ROMAN partie. The causes of which sodein furie, with the bitter effects, the estate of things foregoing, and following (as affording great lessons) deserue a narration futable to the maiestie, though not to the length of the introduction. And first of all (that vve may admiringlie know how large a place the euil shooke) it must not bee forgotten, that presentlie before the terrible blowe, all the countreyes, nowe comprehended vnder the noble names of ENGLAND, and WALES (excepting onely the Ile of MONA or ANGLESEY) were either immediatly ROMAN, as prouincial, or indireclic, and vpon the
N by,

by, as seeming social. A goodlie scope of habitable element, one thousand miles in circuit, and it self the best and greatest part of BRITAIN, full of braue people, and of natie commodities, which the ancient equitie of the ROMANS should haue kept, and cherished more carefullie.

For the straightned Ocean which separates it from the continent, doth not separate it from the benefits, and blessings of the continent. And if the aër of our ile be not alwayes the most pure, and transparent, yet is it certainly the most temperate. But without all other commodities (and the names of ours would fill a long inuentarie) it was alone enough for an attractive to the ROMANS, that not onely the interior sorts of oare, but siluer also, and gold it selfe lay couched in the mines of BRITAIN, which their diligence would draw forth into light, and vse; the vaines of mineral coales a trefure left for vs, whose improudent waists of wood hath made them as pretious as metal. The BRITANNs themselues, who by the right of theyr first comming hither were natural Lords of the soil, a people easily fashionable to the noblest arts, and not to that mean one of making cheese, the ignorance whereof stands vpon some of them in STRABO, as a special note of barbarism. Neither were the *Romans* now in any such numbers here, that insolencie might thereupon securely rest it selfe. For to defend their owne share they at most employd but foure legions, with theyr ordinarie aids, consisting partly of GALLS, and GERMANs, and partly of the ilanders themselues, the legions of none but ROMANS only. All which together could not very much surmount fortie thousand, according to common proportions

portions. An handfull of men if compared to the natives. But of this more properly elsewhere.

§. I.

Of the title of the Romans to theyr conquests.

ANd here it seemes good, once for all, to make it vnderstood, vpon what points in doctrine, and perswasions in conscience, the old moral ROMANS iustified to themselues theyr vniuersal conquests. This I cannot better doe then in the words of DYBIVS AVITVS, a ROMAN captain in GERMANIE vnder NERO, before this reuolt. The forlorne nation of the ANSIBARIANS (among whom BOIOCALVS was a chiefe) for necessarie sustentation of theyr liues, would haue possessed certaine border-grounds, or wastes vpon the ROMAN pale in GERMANIE, but for some reason in state were denied. BOIOCALVS, (a faithfull old seruant of the ROMANS) becomes theyr aduocate, and pleads in TACITVS, among other things; *That the bea- uens were for the gods, the earth for men; and whatso- ever had not an owner, was euery mans.* AVITVS hereunto answered. *That the commandement of bet- ters was to be obeyd. And it was the plesure of those gods whom BOIOCALVS appealed, that the RO- MANS should be Lords of the world, to award, or iudge a way what they thought good, without brooking any vmpires but themselues alone.* A most high pretense, and as full of natural pietie, as maiestie. Nor had theyr title to empire any poinct so excellent vnto which to referre it selfe, as to the will of Almighty God,

N 2

who

who in this great game, and chesse-play of the world disposeth of power at his pleasure. So C Y R V S was called his. And this title doth not seeme more transcendently noble, then honestly true in the case of those old moral R O M A N S, though they most grossely erred in the obiect of their worship. For they, of all other people vpon earth (saith that matchlesse Historian, C R I S P V S S A L V S T I V S) were the most deuout, and religious. Nor doth the apostata, I V L I A N V S C Æ S A R, in S. C Y R I L S workes, ascribe the raising of the R O M A N empire to any other immediate author but diuine. This opinion therefore which confest a celestial prouidence, a goodnesse also in that prouidence towards them who depend thereupon, and a necessitie of such dependencie, merits veneration simplie in it selfe, to the iust confusion of the godlesse. Thus flew the R O M A N S aloft ouer the heads of other mortals, and prosperd in worldly power beyondall example. If they swarued from the rule of such a beliefe, the correction cost them dear; as in the massacre of V A R V S and his legions vnder A V G V S T V S; and now by this *Virago* vnder N E R O.

§. II.

The estate of the Roman-Britanns immediately before the reuolt.

TH E R O M A N - B R I T A N N S, on the other side, though ouerlaid with that power, which by hauing subdued the rest of the world, removed the reproach of being ouercome, were neuertheless *onely conquered to obey, and not to be seruile*

uile base. Which greatly to their honor TACITVS testifies for them in his AGRICOLA. They therefore suffered their people (whom CLAVDIVS, and OSTORIVS SCAPVLA his lieutenant-general, had vpon the conquest disarmed for feare of rebellion) to bee orderlie preſt out at their muſters, for the ſeruice of the ROMAN empire, in the nature and name of *aids*. This kept vp martial ſpirit among them, though it exhausted the able bodies of the prouince, when they were not fartheſt off from the ſpirit of ciuilitie. The ROMANS their examples for both. For their honorable, graue, and moſt decent faſhions in peace worthily wanne the BRITANNs (a noble, and imitating people) to tranſlate them to their proper uſe. The chiefe mens children, who were wont to bee traind-vp in the blundring, and heynous ſchools of the DRVIDS, had now the life of the LATIN tongue, and the ſhine of liberall knowledges. For the ROMANS conceiued an higher opinion of the witts of the BRITANNs for ſtudie, then they did of the GALLS. So, they who before could not endure the conquerours language, did now both willinglie vſe it, and were alſo ambitious of becomming excellent therein. CLAVDIA RVFINA, that chaſt, and learned BRITANN Ladie (very young in theſe dayes) demonſtrates the witts of the men, when ſhe a woman could deſerue the commendatorie verſes of ſo rare a ROMAN witt as MARTIALS. But they ſoone grew too much *Romanized*, by frequenting warme bathes, coſtly banquets, and the like, which paſſing vnder the title of faſhion, were fetters indeed, and a bondage: For there is not a worſer miſtreſſe to ſerue, then voluptuarie waſte, and vanitie. Old
rudeneſſe

rudenesse a friend of freedom. New formes while they pretend to polish parts, doe oftentimes file euen manhood it selfe away. Old rudenesse notwithstanding is happely changed for faire humanitie. The golden mean alone can take vp the matter so, that freedom may subsist by the force of a generous spirit, and yet smooth arts retaine their tast and luster. This I write of the tamer BRITANNIS in these dayes, by the warrant of that which AGRICOLA, not many yeares after, perswaded to the fiercer in his owne. For if he thought ciuilitie the way to assure the wilde; the ROMANS for the same purpose had vndoubtedly induced it vpon such as were alreadye humbled. Manifest in the former coign of CLAVDIVS. The inhabitants of cities and townes, (the softest part of euery nation) liued willinglie obedient. For they remained secure, and rich by the exercise of ciuil mysteries, though charg'd with sundry duties. From which common burthen as they could not possibly bee freed vnder their owne Princes, or vnder any other forme of commonweale, so neither could they haue been so well in lieu defended, had not fond securitie charm'd asleepe all the eyes of ROMAN circumspection. As for the people of the countrey; they also had their reason of content, men for the more part indifferent whom they serue, but as the conditions are diuerse. They therefore by the famillier rent-seruices of plowghing, and grazeing (employments markt out in scorne by the warlick Queene in DIO) or otherwise in paying theyr tythes (the vsuall proportion of tribute) did generallieerne protection, and sustenance. The ROMANS neuer tooke all the land away from the natiues whom they had conquer'd, but left them part. The nobler fort,

sort, such of them as were stript or disleifed either of estates, or authoritie, vnder-went therein the chance of warre, and such vnequall lawes, as liked their new Lords best. These wrecks, and waifs of fortune, were the proper fuell of combustion, or rather the fire it selfe, alwayes prompt, and alwayes putting for trouble. But from the yearlie payment of poll, or head-money, which throughout the ROMAN world was modest, and tolerable (the value of a teston, or some such toy) neither were the liuing nor the dead exempt. For that very yeare wherein any one of them dyed was answered. NERO himselfe did neither vrge, nor enlarge grieuances, but rather sought redresses. For his constitutions in TACITVS, the one *against ouercharging the prouinces with portage of corne to the publicke granaries*, the other *to make ships tribute-free*, were both of them of that nature, and ought to haue reacht ouer hither, as to a famous member of the empire, abounding with corne and merchants. The ordinarie gouernment of the ROMANS was far from barbarous, therefore the warlick widowe forecastes in DIO, that they had wunn vpon many with faire perswasions. If their fauours were vnequal, that tended to nourish their partie. But before this vnluckie reuolt, the TRINO BANTS, and some other of the BRITANS stood possessed of so rare a felicitie, as to enioy the peace of ROME, without any ROMAN iudges among them. For the ROMANS medled not, but left them ouer to be whollie ruled by their naturall magistrates, and peculiar lawes. TACITVS witnesseth it, and the GREEK historians (speaking of their condition before the rebellion) doe call them *their owne men*, and *free*. Neither did the ROMANS enuie the
immuni-

immunities, and honors of their citie to persons who could not enioy them by any right of birth; most magnanimously forgetting what they had at any time done hurtfullie as enemies, and receiuing them, both into her embraces, as bosome-friends; and also into her lapp as children. CLAVDIVS so earnestlie desirous to bestow the franchise of the souereign citie vpon the BRITANNNS whom hee had conquered, that SENECA (in his irreligious sports vpon that emperour) vpbraids it. ROME imperiall a gracious common mother of mankinde, and not a mistresse only. Therefore the fall of ROME, as Queene of the earth, was the common sorrow of the earth, euen in scripture it selfe. To the stubborne; sharp, and stern: against aduersaries, fierce, and braue. And if the subiects in the prouinces were vnworthelie violated, or villanously entreated, it was not because the lawe allowed it. For the greatest Magistrate, during his whole time abroad, might receiue nothing of guift, but *hay, fower beds, and wood for fireing*, towards his prouisions; and CICERO glories, that hee tooke not all them neither, when hee was proconsul in CILICIA. There neuer was any common weale which more diligentlie provided against wrongs, and rapines then the ROMAN, or which more seuerelie punisht them. The times, euen of TIBERIVS, rarelie happie for the prouinces herein. PHILLO (who himselfe was an eye-witnesse, and a partaker of the benefit) doth excellently note it in his AVILLIVS FLACCVS. But the quiet estate of the ROMAN-BRITANNNS, and the thruiing condition of their arts, and trades vnder NERO, was sodeinlie blasted by the scandalous, and wretched iniquitie of some of the predominant (as it almost

almost euery where happens)to the so great hazard of the whole, that TRANQVILLVS speakes of BRITANN, as *lost for the time.*

§. III.

The causes of the grand reuolt. Boadicia's quarrel the chiefe.

THe reasons which drew the BRITANNs to rise, and attempt the massacre of the ROMANS were great and many. Profound contempt of NERO was the first. For that did chiefly embolden the ROMANS to doe wrong, and draue the sufferers to despaire of an orderlie redresse. To gouerne with the opinion of iustice, keepes officers from presuming, and the rest of subiects from ruin by ryfing. DIO (a man of a most honourable place, and a like minde) assignes two principal causes which prepared the BRITANNs for an open hostilitie. *The confiscation of goods,* and (I blush to write it) *Seneca's cruel vsuries.* For whereas CLAVDIUS CÆSAR (which concernes the first point of the two) had graciously forgiuen such forfeitures and seifures as belonged to him in right of his conquering sword (NENNIVS, the ancient BRITANN, writes, that they were *the tributes themselves*) or had otherwise bestowed large summes vpon the chiefe among them; and for that, as for an act of celestially bounty, was honoured as a god, while as yet aliue, CATVS DECIANVS, NERO's Procurator in BRITANN, contended, that extremity ought to be pursued, notwithstanding

ding any shoue of discharge, or plea of pardon, and notwithstanding good CLAVDIVS had caused a Decree of the SENATE to passe *for strengthning the fauours hee had done*: thereby to inuite the more to yeeld them selues. A solemne wise custome of the ROMANS, to winn vpon the first with fauour, and humanitie, as they did of old in GALLIA, where they styled the ÆDVI, their fellowes, co-sens, and brothers. On the other side ANNÆVS SENECA (NERO'S chiefe counsellour) hauing a stocke going here at vse, of about two hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling, sodeinlie calls in his moneyes, (the loan whereof had been thrust vpon the BRITANNS, whether they would or no) where a rebellion would sooner discharge debts, then exhausted meanes could. Yet this is hee (ô strange) who cryed out, when hee was at ritchest, *How vnknowne a good is pouertie!* But DIO is suspected by some of the most noble clarks of our age, as somewhat too vnequall to the honour, and memorie of famous SENECA, the sharpest witt of ROME. There are other iniuries named, which concerned the commons, and the rest in generall; which toucht by TACITVS in his AGRICOLA, did principallie consist *in the abusue assignation of rates, and the carriage of corne for the armies*. But if one onely iniurie had beene forborne, the common grieuances (now the blathers of rebellion, and euermore vsed to bee blowne-out with words to their vttermost widenesse, when the discontented meete) might perhaps haue sighed-out themselves without any Champion, to wage a warre on their behalfe. But in the person of a Prince al the nation is stricken; and wrongs done to a chiefe are interpreted by friends and followers as their owne. Among
all

all the BRITANNS there was not any of this time so eminent as the Dowager of PRASVTAGVS, late king of the ICENI. Her name in antiquitie is very varioullie written. One and the same woman being in TACITVS, BOODICIA, BOVDICEA, and VOADICA, who is in DIO, BOVNDVICA, and perhaps in CAMDENS BRITISH monies, BODVO. Her husband while hee liued, remained in amity with the ROMANS, as a social king: and hauing first deuised his kingdome ioinctly to NERO, and his daughters, he deceased. The BRITANNS excluded neither sex from the crowne, and it was the testators meaning, that his daughters, hauing CÆSAR for their guardian, and hee for his fauour hauing a childes part, should either bee Queenes of their owne shares, or in coparcenerie after their mother. For both by her owne words in her oration in TACITVS, it seemes that shee reputed the kingdome hers, and in DIO it is expressly said, that shee gouerned in chiefe as souereign, at the time of her taking the field; and as farre as can be gathered by all the marks of her spirit) euen then also when the king her husband liued. But the daughters (poore sillie ladies) found a forrie partner-ship, where the lion was to make the partition For NERO's captaines, and officers, exercised intollerable licence, the pallace of PRASVTAGVS their father, as also his ritches (which were great and long in gathering) together with his whole realme, not receiued into custodie for the good of the orphans, nor NERO's part laid out as a bequest or legacie, but that which was theirs ranfackt and spoild as bootie. They also of the blood roial, the kinsmen of the king, were no better accounted of then as prisoners

taken in warre, in the nature of bondmen, or slaues. A most grieuous point, and yet still worser was feared. Princes (by the fortune of their souereigne function) doe oftentimes beare the name of the crimes which others commit. These foule ones pressing for the first place, were out-gone by other more villanous. For the princelie sisters (whether by force or fraud) were irreparable dishonoured in their bodies, and B O A D I C I A her selfe (their most vnfortunate mother) full of most iust griefe, and wrath, and full of all the tempestuous passions which nobilitie embased, or nature violated can suggest, did bleed & smart vnder whips, and cutting lashes. This the C O R N E L I A N A N N A L S signifie; worthie of beliefe against the writers nation. But D I O (who is thought but to haue paraphrased vpon T A C I T V S in this storie) hath no such particular, neither touching the Dowager, nor her daughters. G I L D A S certainlie who was himselfe a B R I T A N N, and liued in B R I T A I N when his miserable countrey men had reason to wish the R O M A N S here againe, is highlie displeased, calling her (for of B O O D I C I A hee is thought to mean) *a craftie deceitfull lionesse, guilty of the murther of those who were left to gouerne her.* She her selfe in her speech to her army complaines, that euen old age was not free from the lust of the lasciuious R O M A N S; as if her selfe had beene that way wronged also. But she would not haue concealed it; and in D I O she doth not appeare old, or decayd, but a strong and perfect woman. Her picture hangs vp there in such words as shew the person of some martial Bosse, or A M A Z O N I A N Giantesse.

§. 1111.

The person and qualitie of the warlick widdowe curiouslie described.

BOADICIA's bodie (that I may aduance her image to the life in the top of this historie) was bigg, and burlie, or rather huge: which some (translating the GREEK into LATIN) not thinking to bee a fit parcell in the bill of a ladies praise, haue turned *tall*. Her face naturallie good, and full of dignitie, was of purpose set to the qualitie of the present seruice, after a most seuer and serious manner. Which moued famous DIO to hang [βλοσυράτην] an epithet of such an ambiguous sence vpon her countenance, as like a double picture represents her diuerslie to a diuerse vnderstanding; excellently comely, or incomparablie terrible. Her complexion verie faire. Which who will wonder at in a Ladie borne in BRITAIN? Her copious tresses dangling in compasse farre beneath her waste, were of a most bright yellowe. And though by her colour her constitution might seeme to bee cold, yet her doings declared, that choler had the maistrie in her, euen vnto deceit and adustion. Her lookes most eager, sharpe, and piercing. An argument perhaps that her eyes were disproportionablie small, and that was a signe (if artists erre not) of fraud and cruelty. They exemplifie in the foxe, and bear. Nature finallie to make the consort of her properties complete, furnisht her with an alarumbell for the countrey, and a deadlie knell for thousands;

sands; a tongue as harsh, and rolling as her selfe was high and great. Her husband a potent king. Her progenitors kings in BRITAIN. Nor among them any one more likeli to be hers, then mightie CASSIBELINE himselfe. Certainlie she deriues (in XIPHILINES summe) to the expulsion of IULIUS CÆSAR, as to a fact and glorie, descended hers. The ROMANS inexcuseable to themselves, while in contempt of her sex they couple to the pride of oppression, the dull, and blinde absurditie of keeping no watch vpon her.

§. V.

*Of Suetonius Paullinus, Nero's Lieuetenant in Britain :
and of his designe against Anglesey.*

IN the meane while SVETONIUS PAVLLINVS, who commanded in chiefe ouer all the ROMAN forces in BRITAIN as lieutenant for NERO, was far off in the ile of MONA, or ANGLESEY, vpon a most earnest desire to annex it to the rest of the empire. Which ministred to the BRITANNES both an occasion and meanes of reuenge, and was to the widowe an aduantage diuerse wayes. For besides that some part of the army did necessarilie attend him in that seruice (which must needs leaue the prouince somewhat the weaker) his person was not onely absent, but those things also without the which euen his presence had beene to little purpose. Attention, circumspection, the awe of souereign authoritie, and whatsoeuer else are restrainets in common sense vpon the vnshure, and

and fickle, and which should also have beene in his deputies to the purpose of ruling the subiects, were no lesse away with him then hee himselfe. This great ROMAN Senatour (for after BOADICEA, it is reason to speake of him, her aduersarie vanquisher) was a soldier of so victorious eminencie, as well in AFRICA as in ALBION, that he commonly went reported as a match for martiall worth to NERO's kinsman, CORBULO; betweeen whom in their times the globe of warlike glorie seemed to moue. None of the safest commendations vnder such a feeble prince, whose ignoble life was the clearer seene thereby. PAVLLINVS so able in obseruation, and so wakefull in studie, that PLINIE (who afterwards saw him Consul) doth cite him as a worthie author. So farre from rash, that he was naturallie a prolonger. Arrogant neuerthelesse, and fowr, in his owne case (as TACITVS notes him in his AGRICOLA) when once he had gotten the vpper hand. Which vices of minde, are familiar to armed might, and are as rarelie found seueral from deeplie musing and tardy natures. The seruants of glorie doe not alwaies see the moral helps they need. Nothing could preuent those blemishes but temperance. Two yeares time hee had already spent in BRITAIN with prosperous successe. But because the ile of MONA, by the common benefit of such a situation, was a kinde of naturall forresse, as well to the natiues, as to those other of the enemies who fled, he resolved to make it the chiefe worke of that summer to conquer it, that common libertie might haue no refuge any where. An enterprize full of difficultie, both in respect of the mightie barrs which high and craggie mountaines laid in the way, and of the salt
narrow

narrow channell of MENAI, which made that shire an iland. But the loue of glorie smoothed all with him to his hand. For, according to the vsuall saying; *nothing seemes hard to the willing.*

§. VI.

Suetonius being absent vpon the conquest of Anglesey, what Roman forces, and friends resided behinde for a stay, and where.

BVt least the desire of renowne might appeare to bee blinde ambition rather then wise courage, hee left both the prouince, and borders full of legionarie soldiers, and of their aides. For he is no discreet commander, whose lookes are onelie forward, and not like a bi-fronts, both wayes. Three men are named to haue remained behinde with command. CATVS DECIANVS principal, as being the steward, attorney, or auditor general of CÆSARS profits in BRITAIN. The ROMANS call'd such a man Procuratour. NERO'S vast riots needed vnconscionable supplies. And CATVS, to gratifie those ends at his proper enuie, instrumentallie conuerted the ICENIAN kingdome to a prouincial demesne of the CÆSARS. For to their imperiall part all the countreyes where ROMAN armies were in warfare, did by a most politicke prouision of AVGVSTVS, appertain. CATVS therefore was among the ICENI, and with a force. Hence it was, that the colonie at CAMALODVNVM, vpon notice of their danger, sent to him for helpe: PETILIVS

CERE-

CEREALIS commanded ouer *the ninth* legion, and quarterd neereſt to the colonie; for hee was the firſt who made vp towards the reſcue. And where elſe ſhould wee think his abode was but in thoſe very camps about BANNAVENNA, which CAMDEN pointſ out vnto vs, at GILDSBROUGH, and DAINTRIE, in his ICENI? PÆNIVS POSTHVMS, campmaſter of *the ſecond* legion (ſurnamed AVGVSTA) lodged vp-on the necke of the SILVRES. And theſe two ſeates of legions, OſTORIVS SCAPVLA ordained when hee was General vnder CLAVDIVS here. TACITVS ſignifies it where hee mentions the riuers SABRINA, and AVFONA. *The twentieth* legion (in ſome opinions) was not transported hither till after NERO'S dayes. But becauſe I finde in TACITVS, that the *vexillaries*, or the old ſoldiers of that legion, or as ſome read the place, the *viceſimarians* themſelues, that is to ſay, they of the *twentieth* legion it ſelfe, were with SVETONIVS at the battle, it is plaine to mee, that the camp, or winter-ſeat of *the twentieth*, was alreadie begun at DEVA, to bridle the ORDOVICES. As for *the fourteenth* legion (of all other in BRITAIN the moſt renowned) there is not the leaſt word concerning it till the battle with BOADICIA. No warrant for HOLINSHEAD to ſay that it came ouer ſea for the purpoſe of that fight. For, as touching the number, king AGRIPPA is my witneſſe in IOSEPHVS, that *ſower legions* were the proportion allotted for the cuſtody of this iland euen in VESPASIAN'S dayes; and the former argument ſatiſfies, that *the fourteenth* had reſidence here before the battle. The countreyes themſelues were very full of ROMAN caſtles, holds, and forts, full of inhabi-

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tants,

tants, full of dwellings all ouer, and not at CAMALODVNVM, LONDON, and VERVLAM onelie, though onelie they are named for their singular misfortunes. Thus we see that the absence of SVETONIVS entrusted it selfe for safetie till his returne, to at least thirtie thousand foote of all sorts, besides horse, bestowed diuerslie : which in a land where all things seemed quiet, seemed more then needed. Other stayes, and affiances he also had, and those not founded in armed power, but in amitie. For the ROMANS were too wiseto repose themselves where they came, vpon their owne strengths whollie; and for that cause made all the friends they could. Among vs therefore, the TRINO BANTS, and the rest of the nations within the TRINO BANTISH vnion (which was as antient as from IVLIVS CÆSARS dayes) were louinglie theirs (till BOADICIA secretlie withdrew them) COGIDVNVS speciallie, who could neuer be withdrawne.

§. VII.

Main obseruations touching Cogidunus, a king at this time in Britain.

THIS COGIDVNVS was a king in BRITAIN, to whom, vnder CLAVDIVS CÆSAR, the ROMANS about eighteen yeares before, had giuen fundrie countreyes for enlargement of his dominions, which they themselves could not handsomlie keepe vpon their first conquests. In requital whereof, hee continued a most constant and faithfull friend, and could not but stand them in great good sted in this most perilous moment.

moment. For there is no doubt but he was now alive, because TACITVS who was himselfe at this time not aboue sixe or seauen yeares old (as being borne but either in the first of NERO or in the last of CLAUDIVS) hath left it written that COGIDVNVS was so within his memorie, as hee tooke notice of his vnshaken faithfulness. For euen kings themselves were so among the instruments of seruitude. The seat of his kingdome might bee in middle-ENGLAND; and the nations, which the ROMANS vnited to his crowne, the DOBVNI, and CATTIEVCHLANI. For they lay next north from the THAMES, and therefore the lesse fit for the donours; who did at first prouinciate no parts of BRITAIN, but such as that riuer, and the BRITISH sea (now of the resemblance called the *Sleeue*) did southward bound. The place, when CLAUDIVS reigned, where VESPASIAN in thirtie seuerall battles, and fights (some of them also very perillous) wanne twentie strong townes, and the ile of WIGHT by special name, hauing at that time the *second* legion vnder his command. His scholars prize for the empire, whereunto hee came in conclusion. By the benefit of this friendship with immutable COGIDVNVS, the ROMANS, while they were in action against the SILVRES, and ORDVICES, had him readie for all occasions. And by his authoritie these mid-land parts doe seeme to haue beene so tempered, that SVETONIVS, after BOADICIA was vp, passed safe from ANGLESEY to LONDON, though the people on euery side were enemies (for so TACITVS expressly saith) which otherwise then by some such meanes (the BRITANNs being then victorious) could not possibly haue hapned, without surprize, or blowes.

No common risings, or tumults there at all. The BRIGANTS, and other northerlie nations carried a face of amitie, but were vnfound at the kores, by reason of the late bloudie strife about CARTISMANDVA, their abandoned Queen, whom the ROMANS relieued against them, as CÆSARS friend. The ICENI were the top it selfe of danger, and as well they as the TRINOBANTS (their neereſt neighbours) dwelt eaſtward from COGIDVNVS as far off as the GERMAN OCEAN would permit. Theſe conſiderations are all of them ſuch, and ſo important, that without them our knowledge of the whole muſt needes bee very imperfect. Right hiftorie deals in particulars, and handles limb by limb. Generalities are for ſummiſts. The odds fall out as great, as between a glimmering twilight, and a bright noon-day; or as between a bare nomination of parts, and their precise diſſection My diligence vpon a ground neuer heretofore beaten by any, wil in others quicken greater. SVETONIVS therefore, by this account, might carrie with him about ten thouſand to the enterpriſe of MONA. And theſe prouiſions for retayning poſſeſſed purchaſe had without all doubt been abundantlie ſufficient, if BOADICIA would haue reſted quiet. For the BRITANNNS very willinglie obeyd when they were not abuſed. But here wee behold (not without much horror at the giddie condition of humane affaires) what a mightie bodie of men & matter one womans wrath was able to ſtir: or rather that vſuall ſentence, *patience too much mooued, turnes into rage*, made good to the world by a moſt terrible inſtance.

§. VIII.

*Boadicia, and the Britains meet in great secrecie, and
resolue to rise in armes.*

BVt all the care which PAVLLINVS tooke could not make vp the want of his personall presence. In the worth of some one man alone there is sometime so much weight. This absence therefore of the ROMAN Generall was interpreted by BOADICIA and the BRITAINNS, as a benefit sent from heauen, because it remoued the difficultie of assembling: the first degree alwayes of a rebellion, next after the inward matter is inclinable. Therefore at their meeting, the prime thing which they gratulated to themselves was, *that they met*, though it were in greatest secrecie as their estate, and cause required. And to quicken their darings to an headlong, and desperate extremitie, they vpbraided to themselves in detestation, *as if they were men who could doe any thing rather then dye for their countrey*. A notion, or common place of incitement most apt to fire the bloud; In which sense TACITVS hath it, and SAVILE; who was another TACITVS for grauitie and iudgement. Some haue turnd the keen edge of that sentence by turning it quite contrarie thus; *as if they were men who knew not to doe any thing else but onelie to die for their countrey*. The wrongs, and dishonors, which the most noble authors sustain oftentimes by many translatours, are infinite and intollerable. Scarce one booke among one hundred honestlie done, and
not

not one of one hundred exactlie. But to our present taske. The forwardnesse of the Dowager Queene vnlockt all hearts and tongues among themselves; and while each one layes open his griefes (which in telling kindle) or would for companies sake seeme to haue cause (as in such cases it euermore happens) they all agree together to rise in armes with her. As for the sworne couenants betweene the ROMANS, and the BRITANNIS (which DIO calls their *Symbasies*) as also the Senates decree for their confirmation, by vertue whereof they had title to a lawfull redresse, they were all broken-through as cobwebs. The sword their iudge and vmpire. Right, and common libertie the names of their quarrell: confusion, spoil, and thirst of bloud the sequel. Instincted thus, and embude by BOADICIA, the countrey-TRINOBANTS came in to the plot, and so the rest. Most cunning and vnauoidable, while the cold aër of feare (like a counter-circumstance of qualities) kept together the heat of counsell. In CAMALODVNVM it selfe they had their close correspondents among their countrey-men inhabitors.

§. IX.

The Druids of Britain, parties in this reuolt.

THe head and members of this blacke agreement were fastned together in a most bloudie knot with speciall rites, and ceremonies. For a mysterie so deepe and darke was neuer seald vp without most solemn vowes, toucht at by TACI-

TVS in the word *pepigerant*. Nor need wee doubt that they were as horrible as could bee deuised, considering the DRVIDS were the solemnisers, who besides the generall barbarousnesse of their superstition, had a speciall tooth against the ROMANS. For if they preuaile, their profession must needs goe downe, because that wise and ciuil people abhor'd it as hellish. SVETONIVS therefore, after his v^otorie, felled their groues distaind with sauage rites. The DRVIDS interest a most inward cause of troubles. And how much they thought it concernd them to beat off the ROMANS, who had forbidden their sect in ROME and GALLIA, did well appeare in their bedlam doings at MONA. Vpon their altars they vsed to offer in fire the bloud of men; and that was their sacrifice: to know what should happen, they did cut vp an enemy quicke; and that was their sooth-say. They opened therefore some ROMAN or other aliue, to read in his heart-strings, how they should speed, and intercepted his bloud to offer to their goddessse, ANDATE. Bloud was the seale of this coniuratorie secret, and this a season of all other the most likeliest for the wiues, and daughters in lawe of the wilde and ruder BRITANNES (of which sort BOADICIA'S forces did principallie consist) to celebrate those rites in which PLINIE saith they were wont to goe naked, their bodies coloured ouer with oad. A grizlie ceremonie for a gastlie purpose.

§. X.

Wonders fore-show the over-hanging evils.

TO the euerlasting confusion of the impious, all times afford cleare proofes in facts, that there is one vniuersal minde of things, whose fore-knowledge is seene in fore-warnings, and whose goodnetle is declared in giuing them. God, who is that minde, and from whom alone all good things come, in his ordinarie, and generall care o-uer all, and not o-uer the elect alone, sends signes, and wonders. Out of this fountaine of pittie towards his creatures, it proceeded, that many great maruels fore-went the sodein change, and not without particular respect to some in BRITAIN (for CHRISTIANITIE euen here had friends as then) and neuer but for his owne more glory. DIO, (himselfe an ETHNICK) ascribes the same to God. The OCEAN betweene BRITAIN, and GALL, at the full tide did ouerflowe, of a bloudie colour, and at a low water the prints of mens bodies were seene vpon the bare, and not the dead bodies themselues, which the englished ANNALS of TACITVS mistakingly say. The similitudes also of the broaken, and shatterd houses of a colonie were seene vnder water in the mouth of the THAMES. These in that element. Vpon the land; the image of victorie in the temple of CLAVDIVS, without any known cause, fell downe with the backe vpwards, as if it gaue way to the enemy, women rapt with a sodein furie, sung *near destruction*,

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or *Woe and alas at hand*. Moreouer, in the common court-hall of CAMALODVNVM, there was heard a strange hollow noise or murmure as of the barbarous, by night (which DIOS Greek text notes) with much lowd laughter, and in the theater (the place of sports) a dreadful lumber, mixt with a sound, at the same time, as if multitudes of spectators were weeping and howling together therein, when there was not a man in either. Wonderfull things and to wonderfull ends. Causes of greatest dread to the ROMANS, and of like encouragement to the BRITANNIS. In these descriptions I haue holpen my selfe by comparing TACITVS, and XIPHILINES DIO together, and with the most corrected readings in best Criticks, which I thought meete to admonish, not for boast of industrie, but to keepe blame off, where I shall be found to differ from the vulgar. Though the subiect bee such as well deserues greatest diligence.

§. XI.

Boadicia's musters, and attire, and of the place of the rendezvous.

ONE hundred and twentie thousand men appeared now for warre at BOADICIA'S musters. An admirable effect of a close and sodein conspiracie. Those numbers not drawne to an head out of the ICENI, and TRINOBANTS alone, but also out of what other BRITISH nations soeuer. Some other else there were. TACITVS notes it in generall words euen at this first assemblie. For the earth of the ICENI (according to

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worthie CAMDEN) was spread no farther then the compasse of *four* shires, nor they the greatest, and the same at this day inhabited with fewer then *fifteen hundred* parishes; the countrey of the TRIBANTS (the gemme and flower of BRITAIN) with lesse then *ten* about *six hundred*; and it selfe but *two* shires now. Impossible therefore that so huge a force should rise on a sodain within so narrow a circuit, as *six* of our present shires, specially, where very many thousands held loyall to the death, and where so many impediments of free assemblies interposed themselves in the ROMAN forts, and garrisons about. BONDVCA, the head, and life of these revolted BRITANNs, came forth in state, attended with the peers, and chieftes. Her bodie cloathed in a deep, and full gathered garment, embroidred with diuers colours all ouer; about her necke a chaine of great wreathed lincks of gold; her shoulders sustained vpon them a militarie cloake, or a thicke wrought mantle, buttoned before, her goodlie tresses flowing in length downe her backe, serued for a couer, or a golden vaile to all. Thus shee went alwaies attyred. But now more; she held with the one hand in the lapp of her gowne, a *leueret* or *hare* for a mysterie; and in the other, a *lance* for terrour. HOLINSHEAD in her printed picture sets a crowne of gold vpon her as a finall ornament; and it displeaseth not; though authoritie wants. An helme with a coronet, and a plume of feathers more proper, and they also *Romanesque*, as her cloake, and somewhat else. In this wise fitted, and adorned, shee takes her stand vpon a square hillocke of tuftes, rising vp about with sundry steps of the same, altogether after the fashion of a ROMAN tribunal in field. And by that qualitie

qualitie which is assigned to the materials of this militarie throne, it may be well suspected, that the place it selfe of this camp was some where in *Marsh-land*, or the ile of *Elie*, as a place among all other the *ICENIAN* countreyes, one of greatest safetie. For those turfs were cut vp out of plashie, or fennie grounds, and shee her selfe also assigns in her speach a refuge to bee had in the like, if the worst should happen. That the very word *Elie*, onely aspirated in the first letter, is vsed by *DIO*, is not much to the purpose; because *HELOS* doth not signifie there the proper name of a place, but is onely appellatiue of a marsh, or moorish soile: though some there bee (saith *CAMDEN*) who deriue the name of that ile out of the *GREEK*, for the probable significations sake. Her selfe in her owne person most conspicuous, had her naturall tallnesse so holpen out with the norable aduantage of this earthen stage, mounted vpon the leuel flatnesse of the open land, that shee easilie ouer-lookt all their heads, as they had their eyes on her.

§. XII.

*Bunduca's oration to her armie, affording a most force-
able point to inflame the Britanns by opposing their
manners to the Romans.*

HEere *DIO CASSIVS NICÆVS* puts into her mouth a long oration, well worthie of his eloquence, and the wit of a *GREEK*, who was so greatlie delighted with the wonder, and worth of this argument (the world hath not a rarer)

that hee seemes to haue made the exquisite handling thereof, his maister-piece. For there is not any thing of that bright author extant, vpon which he can be thought to haue dealt with greater care, or endeuour, then vpon his *BVNDVCA*'s storie, which (by the speciall good fortune of our famous iland) wrought so well in the minde of *XIPHILINE*, that he seems not to abridge, but to insert it entire. That oration I will not draw in hither, both in regard that *HOLINSHEAD* partlie hath it alreadie, and I haue showed the causes of this reuolt in a speciall chapter before, (the principall matter of the speech) and also for that it is not my purpose to translate, but to make all mine owne. That which next is most of force, and in the oration may be called a counter-comparifon, or a confronting of contraries (the receiued word in art is *antithesis*,) shall not escape my diligence, the particulars extracted after my way, and couched pillar-wise in table, for the readers clearer comprehension, without exceeding my written warranties. An excellent glasse of the *ROMAN*, and the reuolted *BRITANN*s manners.

BVNDVCA saith:

The ROMANS are few, and strangers. } *The BRITANNs many, and at home.*

The ROMANS haue their helmets, and curaces, which load them with their brassen weight, and render them vnapt to pursue. } *The BRITANNs haue neither helmets, nor curaces, but swords, bucklers, and darts, which are not burthensome.*

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The ROMANS, who so long haue endured the yoke of their ladie, and mistresse, Madam NERO (for who can thinke him a man?) deserue to continue slaues still. } *The BRITANNs had heretofore bene free, and though others should be so base as to spend their dayes in vassall villenage vnder a DOMITIA, or NERONIA (sister names for him then any of the masculine gender) it is certainlie her last resolution, either to liue free, or die.*

The ROMANS are foxes, and hares. } *The BRITANNs are wolues, and greybonds.*

At this (as at a cu in a players part) she for lucke sake suffers the *hare* to slip out, which all the while before lay wrapt in the foulds of her skirts. The hare among the *BRITANNs* a creature vnlawfull to be tasted; and now (as if some thing sacred were in it) the subiect it selfe of omen. That prouing luckie (the point of fortune being in the way it tooke) all the soldiers spent their mouthes in an vniuersall shewt, crying a *BVNDVCA*. Shee accepts the luckie signe, and after her thanks giuen to *ANDATE* (the goddess to whom shee was chiefe-ly deuoted, and the same which *Victoria* was among the *ROMANS*) most affectionatelie recommends her cause to her speciall protection. Her orisons, and all other rites finished, she forthwith riseth, and leads them most fiercelie on to extirpate all that was *ROMAN* in *BRITAIN*, with sword, and fire, and with all the extremes of warre. Against which for the present, there was no sufficient stop, the tyde was in such sort out at vnawares. CA-

The ROMANS trust to their trenches, walls, and parapets, which consisting of oaken stakes, one fretted, and wreathed into another, doe shew them as shut vp in boxes.

The BRITANNS haue their tents in the open field, and for their defences their marshes, bogs, and mountaines.

The ROMANS must haue their shadie bowers, houses ouer head, bread of ground corne, wine, and oile, or they cannot hold out.

The BRITANNS brook hunger, thirst, cold, and heat. Any herb, or roote serues then for food; water will quench their drowth, and euery tree is to them a rooffe, or canopie.

The ROMANS sowe corne, & are handicraftesmen.

The BRITANNS haue learned nothing but to fight.

The ROMANS must haue their warme bathes, their boyes, their daintie fare, and their bodies supplied with oile.

The BRITANNS vse none of these, but haue their wiues, and all other things in common, and count all children their owne, which makes the females as valiant as the men.

The ROMANS are insolent, insatiable, vniust, and worthy to be the slaues of a BYNGLING FIDLER.

The BRITANNS, by such as these, are wronged, and ouer-borne.

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MALODVNVM felt the first great mischiefe of the tempest, and perisht vnder it.

§. XIII.

The motions and actions of this mightie bodie of rebellion; and first concerning the Roman colonie at Camalodunum, and the castles on the borders.

IN this famous place, CLAVDIVS CÆSAR had planted that colonie of old soldiers (as an help for curbing the rebellious, and a mean to informe, and fashion others in the duties of lawes) whereof there is mention before. But this intention, by the fault of the new inhabitants, fell out quire otherwise. For being but lately brought thither, they did not onely thrust the natiues out of their owne permitted dwellings, and dispossessed them of other lands then such as vpon suruey had already been allotted by the publicke officers to euery soldier in particular, (according to the custome) but sharpened these wrongs with reuilings, terming them capriues, and slaues. Wherein they foulie mistooke. For the BRITANNS were conquerd to yeeld, and not to bee trod vpon. Force had maistred their strengths, but naturall indignation remained. STRABO therefore foretold the truth, that if violence were vsed to the BRITANNS, there would bee danger. In the meane while, looke how many the old soldiers, so many new Lords there were. For the younger sort (of whom there was for a kinde of garrison, a slender band) partlie through likenesse

likenesse of manners, and partlie in hope of the same licenciousnesse, did soothe, and vphold the older in their madnesse. This bred so deepe an hatred in the hearts of the natural CAMALODVNIANS, and of their countrey men, the TRINO BANTS about, as it secretlie drew them to side with BOADICIA; so much the rather, because they saw it was not a short bondage which they were likelie to vndergoe, but in the purpose of the ROMANS a perpetual. For whither the word which TACITVS vseth in this case, were an altar, or an earnest of tyrannie, whither *ara*, or else *arrha*, or (as VALENS ACIDALVS reads it) *arx*, that is to say, a capitall fort, or keep of oppression, the TRINO BANTS could neuer cast their eyes vpon the temple of CLAVDIVS erected among them, but as vpon a dedication of their seruitude to perpetuities. CAMALODVNVM, the standing court or palace-roiall of their kings, while CVNOBELINE liued, was now become the center of pleasant retirements for the ROMANS, not the rendezvous of their power. And though it stood as farre remoued from all open enemies as the easterne sea would suffer, yet did that temple, vnder the colour of ceremonies, sucke and engorge the riches of the BRITANNES, not as a temple, but as if it had beene a gulph, or indraught of the neighbour OCEAN. The onelie worship of such a kinde of dietie as CLAVDIVS, the principall cause to ripen the wrath of God, and to hasten fearefull vengeance. The outward state of the towne seemed neuertheless very flourishing. For, besides the old palace, and other the buildings of the BRITANNES (for the ROMANS (saith SIGONIVS) did not vse to destroy the buildings they found) it had a senate-house

house for consultations, a theater for playes, that goodlie temple of CLAVDIVS, and as well they, as the rest, vndoubtedlie answerable in some measure to the ROMAN magnificence. But the BRITANS of the towne, whom the insolencies of that colonie had vtterlie lost, holding close correspondence (as is noted before) with those in BOADICIA's camp, for the hope and desire of reuenge, did notablie further it, and as otherwise also, so speciallie by dissuading the ROMANS to fortifie. For the colonie lay open on all sides, the better to enioy free walkes, and aer about, though it had not alwayes done so. For this was the towne which CLAVDIVS assaulted, and tooke, and whose image he represented in a mock-fight at ROME. TRANQVILLVS cannot be thought to meane it of any other. The old ditches theretore fild with the ramparts thrown in, and all the fortifications rated after it was wunne, yet safetie was not altogether neglected, though pleasure was rather sought then strength. It had no trench, no palisado, nor other defence about it selfe, but it had the maiestie of the ROMAN name (a reputed wall of brasle) the awe of a fresh conquest, and sundrie strengths (though many miles off) in the marches, or pale of the prouince (euidet in the AGRICOLA of TACITVS) where the ROMAN garrisons watcht, and warded in castles, sconces, and other presidarie plaes. These together with the small force of soldiers mentioned before, were the hopes vpon which the colonie relyed against all sodein inroads or commotions, as the hope of those soldiers consisted in the strength of the temple. Which though at other times they might haue beene competent, yet now were vaine. For BVNDVCA suddenlie

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assailing such other of the R O M A N soldiers as lay scatterd here and there vpon the frontiers in forts, and castles, and forceing the garrisons, rusht ouer them with such violence into the bosome of the countrey, as the sea at a breach, making vp with all speed to the colonie it selfe, the obiect of their greatest spight.

§. XIII.

The Roman colonie at Camalodunum destroyed by Boadicia.

THe darke and thicke cloud of warre, full chargd with the lightnings and thunders of reuenge, was scarce any sooner before C A M A L O D U N U M (where their correspondents expected them) but it was also within it. The R O M A N partie there, vpon the first appearings of danger, had sent to C A T V S D E C I A N V S for some assistance, but hee (as so bad a man must needes) misdoubting his owne case, onelie spared two hundred foldiers, and those not fullie armed. The colonie it selfe, with their wiues, children, seruants, all sorts of tradesmen (as in a great flourishing corporation) and their families, could not amount to so few in all as tenne, or twentie thousand; though it was a colonie of but about tenne yeares standing. C A M D E N saith it was that braue, and noble legion, *the fourteenth*, surnamed *Gemina Martia Victrix*, which C L A V D I V S planted here, and of the word *Victrix* styled the whole colonie *Victricensian*. This may be so; for though wee finde a *fourteenth* legion

legion in the field with SVETONIVS PAVLINVS at the ouerthrow of BOADICIA, yet might the numbers be new, though the name continued. For by suffeccion, or supplie, they lengthened out the names of fortunate legions, not onely farre beyond the age of a man, but of many ages also; as a ship, which though by new trimmings, and frequent reparations, it bee not the same in stuffe, yet is the very same in opinion, by reason of the name remaining. And this kinde of entire plantation was sutable with the antient custome of the ROMANS, which (as TACITVS notes, and commends) was of whole legions, with their captaines, and officers. Euery ROMAN colonie an image of ROME their mother. CLAVDIVS ambitious to imitate the best and oldest. But the colonie (how populous soeuer) was manifestlie weake in all respects; for these antient warriors had abandoned the vse of armes, and being ouer-mellow with ease and pleasure, held it enough to walke vp and down with warders, or truncheons in their hands. A fashion of honour (saith LIPSIVS) which was common to them by speciall priuiledge with captaines, to whom alone it did regularlie belong. Old, and young, the feeble and the able, men, and women, as in a time of deep peace, mingled together. The BRITANNs who were natives of the citie (for colonies were reputed cities) alwayes couert enemies, and ouert now, ioyned to their partie. The soldiers seeing no hope left for a common defence, quit the streets, and market-place, and thronged themselves vp within the great temple, neither safe in the veneration of CLAVDIVS, as a sanctuarie (though the temples of the CÆSARS were sanctuaries) nor in their small forces. The

name of NERO, the present emperor, void of honour. Their onely affiance this: that if they could maintaine the gates, and battlements, till PETILIUS CEREALIS came in with his legion, they might perhaps escape. No third course could be deuised (for the enimie would not parlea) and this was friuolous. For BOADICIA becoming mistresse of all the towne at an instant, did sodeinlie sacke, or fire whatsoeuer lay without the walls of the temple. The assault whereof was neuer intermitted till it was wunne; which hapned vpon the second day of the siege. All went to wracke therein, as in the rest. Sword, furie, and fire concurred in the execution. There was nothing ROMAN, which force tooke not away, or reuenge deuoured not. CAMALODVNM, vnfortunate in her kings, and colonie, though very fortunate in the blessings of a seate, was thus betraid, and destroid together. Neuerthelesse the commoditie of situation gaue it life againe very soone after: for euen in PLINIES time it was a towne of speciall note. In our dayes, the antient name is not shorter by the syllables which MALDON wants thereof, then the place it selfe is short of the former glorie; though it otherwise be a faire, and a famous borough.

§. XV.

Petilius Cerealis comming tardie to the rescue, is encountered vpon the way by Boadicia, and put to flight.

THe BRITANNS were so fiesht with this bloudie handfel, that BOADICIA, hearing how PETILIUS CEREALIS, and the ninth legion, ouer which hee commanded, were marching vp for the deliuerance of the colonie, they could not but haue cause to deride his too late approach for bringing succour to his fellowes; and to gratulate to themselues, that hee sought for a mischiefe too soone. Therefore while they greedily catcht at reuenge, as if they would fore-lay, or take it before hand vp, they gladlie set forward to his interception. A rashnesse in CEREALIS, with so great a disproportion of numbers to encounter the first heates of an huge incensed multitude, and censured for such by his Generall, PAVLLINVS. Neither was BOADICIA deceiued in her hopes. For all the probable meanes of information being cut off from CEREALIS together with the colonie, shee meets him vpon much the more aduantage, giuing in vpon his squadrons with so round and home a charge, that vtterlie vnable to resist, he was beaten from his ground, and compelled to flye away vpon the spurre, with onely his troupes of horse. The infanterie of the legion, thus left naked, and immediatelie ouerlaid, was driuen to the earth, and cut in pieces, not any one taken to mercie.

That

That all the R O M A N footmen which were then in the field, lost their lines is euident, but that they were more then two thousand may bee doubted; because the very same number (*two thousand* iust) was soone after sent ouer hither by N E R O, to fill vp the breach of that vnluckie legion. They of the same who were not in the field with C E R E A L I S, serued to man the camp, and to see to things behind. So necessarie a point of prouidence, that otherwise they had perisht all. For it will easilie bee thought that the B R I T A N N S pursued close. But he riding for his life, got within the trenches, and by their helpe was safe. Which kinde of speaking in T A C I T V S, satisfies mee, that C E R E A L I S was not a dayes iourney from his campe, and that the B R I T A N N S attempted to enter vpon the luckier remaines of the legion, but preuailed not. Hither also is the reason of B O A D I C I A's change of course to be drawne. For to linger about the winning of forts, and hard places (which as yet was vaine) being found to be losse, the counsell alters. In sted whereof, as a more compendious way to their purposes, they fall vpon such other places as had the fattest booties, and least defences. Men (as they are described in T A C I T V S) greedie, and glad of pillage, but of all other long toils of warre impatient. Lo here the naturall spirit of the tumultuous multitude, whose proper scope is to grow by robberie, and not to restore common freedome. For of that noble desire they generallie haue no feeling, because their more part hath no honesty.

§. XVI.

*Catus Decianus Nero's procurator, leanes Britain
without leaue.*

THis ouerthrow of CEREALIS, and the deserued hatred of the ICENI against CATVS DECIANVS, among whom hee had exercised his couetousnesse, and crueltie, strooke such an affright, as hee durst not abide any longer, but sped ouer-sea into GALLIA. There is nothing so bad, or base, which vnderstood to be spoken of a couetous wretch or coward, will not readily bee beleueed by others. Therefore it is not hard to perswade, that hee was the cause of all those molestations which SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS afterwards suffered by the meanes of IVLIVS CLASSICIANVS. For CATVS (to whom CLASSICIAN succeeded in office) poisoning the credit of PAVLLINVS, with all the ill reports hee could, his owne vile deserts might the rather escape vnseen, as in a troubled water. And if CORNELIVS TACITVS were to be thought a man apt to be lieue at large, and that in some of those particulars which hee rehearfeth vp among the causes of the BRITANNIS revolt (as *the stripes* of BOADICIA) hee might perhaps be abused, there is not any thing which would sooner offer it selfe to mee as the occasion of misleading him, then the conceipt, that it was his fortune to light vpon CLASSICIANVS accusations of SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS. BOADICIA also, by way of stratagem, might

might tell the BRITANNs, that her bodie was *scourgd*, and a thousand such other things, to create the more hatred against the ROMANS, though not one of them were true; which as CLASSICIAN might urge in writing to disgrace the times of PAVLLINVS, so might TACITVS finde. DIO did not thinke her words in those points credible: for hee could not then haue omitted them without blame. That TACITVS should onely tell of the scourgings, and not specifie the cause is strange. But he doth little other in the case of king TIGRANES, who was put to death vnder TRIBERIVS. That so vehement a louer of popular partie as he, could haue so reuerent a concept of roiall maiettie as to thinke that no cause was sufficient to iustifie the violation euen of vnderling princes (such as TIGRANES, and BOADICIA) and that hee might therefore forbear to insert the reason, is by no meanes credible. All that occurs to me as the most likely cause why the centurions, and other the rauenous, and outragious officers of NERO, laid violent hands vpon her, is meerely this, that it was an effect of their quicke, or capitious sence of her words, vpon expostulations in her palace, and kingdome, when they oppressed her. Among which words, if there were but the same, or the like, which she afterwards vsed in her armie (a matter not improbable) the admiration is at an end. For they were so full of most iust scorne, and open contempt of NERO's person, as could not but minister that aduantage which their couetousnesse, and cruell iniquitie desired. Yea, so far forth, as to make it seeme a fauour, that they punisht her no more seuerely then so: *the blemishing of maiestie, high treason among the ROMANS.* The storie of

of TACITVS in that point failing vs; our best perswasion must be, that his writings are in those places imperfect, as LIPSIVS and other think they are in very many, and without doubt doe therein thinke most truely. CATVS DECIANVS was glad hee got whole away. That hee fled alone, or that great numbers did not follow his example, is not probable. The THAMES, and sea were open.

§. XVII.

Suetonius Paullinus, vpon the newes of Boadicia's rebellion, came in haste from Mona to London.

VV Hile these things were in doing at the one side of BRITAIN, SVETONIUS PAVLLINVS, the ROMAN Generall, was busied at the opposite other. As that maister of a familie, who while hee seekes a farre off to enlarge the seat of his abode with more out-houses, beholds his maine dwellings on a blaze in their remotest parts. He had therefore scarce finisht the conquest of the ile of MONA, and let light in throughout the same, by felling the bloody groues of the DRUIDS, when the newes of this grand reuolt violentlie pluckt the fruit of his fresh victories out of his hands. Other labours aske his attendance now, and other cares. But they not such as to make him wholly negligent of MONA, vpon which he placed garrisons. Great ones vndoubtedlie, considering the remotenes of place, the difficulty of relieuing, the wayes almost impassible, enemies round about, who though but very latelie ouercome, yet were strong-

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lie re-encouraged by the example of BOADICIA. That he afterwards withdrew those presidarie forces (the yron yoake of warre) is very apparent. For TACITVS elsewhere saith, that PAVLLINVS was recalled from the possession of MONA, by the newes of the BRITANNIS rising: and possession is not otherwise to be vnderstood to bee kept in such a case, but by maintayning forces vpon the conquered land. His danger also did shorthe need that he should call vnto him all the helpe he could. Lastlie, IVLIVS AGRICOLA vsing the counsell and seruice of some of the auxiliarie BRITANNIS themselves, did about ten yeares following, bring that iland backe vnto obedience, and therefore it had gotten loose againe, what courtesoeuer PAVLLINVS tooke, or the rulers betweene. From MONA to LONDON (about two hundred miles diuided) the way was for a great part sharpe, and rugged, and euery where else either the length of the march, or the perils of the passage made the smoorhest of it rough enough. To LONDON notwithstanding it mainly concernd him to come. Holpen therefore by the faithfulness of COGIDVNVS (according to my former grounds) hee held on his iourney with admirable constancie, among swarmes of enemies, and got safe through.

§. XVIII.

*Of Nero's LONDON before Suetonius Paullinus was
driven by Boadicia to abandon it : and first whi-
ther it were once a Roman colonie, or no.*

HEere the name of LONDON is first found in antient authenticke writings, and that for the calamities sake which at this time it suffered most extreame. But that violence which could abate, and desolate happinesse for the time, advanced the name thereof to immortall remembrance by CORNELIVS TACITVS, her principall historian, and wittnesse. Tragicall effects the most naturall matter of renown. Prosperous successes vanish in the warmth of their owne fruition. His memorie therefore deserues a speciall honour there. And if euer the most ciuill, pompous, and thankfull vles of the magnificent arts of *statuarie, founding, mowlding, musue, and grauing*, preuaile to come vp here, as among the GREEKS and ROMANS, both hee and others shall vndoubtedly enioy it. *London* (saith he) *is a towne, which though it was not ennobled with the surname of a colonie, yet was it most notable for multitude of merchants, and multitudinous passages; that is to say; for great resort, or flocking to and againe by sea.* But if the CORNELIAN word, *Commeatuum*, here, bee called vpon to beare a lesse proper sense, then are wee for these englishes to substitute, *a towne abounding with all sorts of victuals, or prouisions.* Though voiajes, fleets, embarkments, and passages visuallie made,

doe necessarilie imply an ouerflowing plenty in the station. Both interpretations true. But there are two feuerall translations each of them in print, who out of that very place of TACITVS would make LONDON seeme a colonie. If there be any hope that he could haue such a meaning; it must shine from out of other words in his AGRICOLA, where summing the hurts, and mischietes of BOADICIA's darings hee speakes plurallie, as if colonies were destroid, and not one colonie alone. That reading of the place being literallie vrged, LONDON then may best put in for that title, with CAMALODVNVM. But some of the most learned neither reade the LATIN word as in the number of multitude, and there is also another commodious answer; figure of speech; which not rarely admits a plural for a singular, as a gracefull excessse. LONDON was neuer said to bee a colonie. The honour so much the more, that hauing no such potent support, it should grow so superlatiuey eminent. These are some few among the infinite innouations of translators. Description of places is an expresse office of historie, as the clearing of doubts a necessarie right of description.

§. XIX.

*The qualitie and estate of London immediately before
the burning.*

THe seat of LONDON, one of the best of the world for locall guifts, and maiestie, was more antiently inhabited then ROME it selfe,

selfe, according to some. Which may also well bee true according to reason; though CÆSARS commentaries, and such as follow him in them may seeme to inferre the contrarie; as if none of the BRITANNs had any other townes, but *woods or thickets, ditcht, and banckt about*. The clearing of which sauage deformitie, by competent proofes, and reasons, would bee an office of honour well bestowed vpon the most noble of ilands. Nor should day bee taken for the taske but for auoiding to discontinue the Line of narration. It is therefore most of vse for the present, and most certaine for the storie, that the estate, and qualitie of LONDON, immediately before the burning vnder NERO, was most flourishing; at leastwise comparatiuely with all other places of BRITAIN, for the points of trade, resort, and plenty. And those few words of CORNELIVS TACITVS formerly cited, confesse somewhat either of a wrong, or wonder; that LONDON being worthy indeed to enioy the title, and priuiledges of a colonie, it was left notwithstanding vnder the inferiour reputation of but onely a towne among the ROMANS. A city among the BRITANNs and their principall. The very last ioincts in the composition of the name LONDINVM (if nothing else) would proue it well. For the word *Dinas* in antient BRITISH, signifies (as they say) a citie. Among CAMDENS ROMAN copper coigns, touching our countrey, there is one in honour of BRITANNICVS, the sonne of CLAVDIVS CÆSAR, which hath nothing legible vpon it, but

METROPOLIS ET IMINII BA:

that

NERO CÆSAR.

that BA. (in short writing) standing for BASILEOS, or KING,

THE CHIEFE CITIE OF KING
ETIMINIVS.

the name of the citie fretted out, and quite worne away with age.

Camdens BRITANNICVS.

But OCTAVIVS STRADA, a gentleman of knightlie degree, vnder the emperour RODOLPHVS the second, with the honourable title of being his ANTIQVARIÉ, hath publisht one of those inualuable medals much more entire.

Stradas BRITANNICVS.

A most fortunate iewell to BRITAIN, better worth being but copper, then obrize gold, or paragon stones; nor simplie a single peece of money,
but

but it selfe an entire treasure. For without the least alteration of characters,

METROPOLIS ETIMINII BALO

being the visible remain of the circumferential inscription vpon the reuerse, a most easie distinction (by supplie of points decaid) reads,

METROPOLIS ETIMINÆI BALO

that is to say,

METROPOLIS ETIMINÆI BASILEOS LONDINVM.

For in the very letter L. and much more in the syllable L O, all men (though but slightlie conuerfant in antiquities) will readily confesse, that after the name of the king, the name of the place in BRITAIN did commence.

THE MOTHER-CITIE, OR PRINCIPAL CHIEFE TOWN OF KING ETIMINIVS, LONDON.

Now if great IOSEPH SCALIGER, witty liestraining, or (as most thinke) directlie corrupting SENECA's play of CLAVDIVS, to bring forth his *Scoto-Brigantes*, could not containe himselfe from breaking out into a glorious ioy, that he was now the man to whom the noble SCOTTISH nation stood obliged for such a testimonie of the antientie in BRITAIN, then might I also (who endanger no mans writings, but deale sincerely) gratulate to my selfe this discoverie. And, if nothing shall hereafter infirme it, Great BRITAIN must

must no longer incurre the barbarous note of being citie-lesse in CÆSARS dayes; and then also must LONDON vndoubtedlie owe the best prooffe, and clearest light, as well for dignitie as antiquitie, that hath hitherto beene seene among vs, vnto me; who first of mortals haue duly asserted the honourable name thereof into the title of a ciuill *Metropolis*, till this present hower ouerwhelmed in the rubbidge of BRITAINS ruine. For though OCTAVIUS STRADA (to whose memorie immortall thanks are due) hath afforded the *medalia*, hee hath not medled with the life of the thing, the meaning: that is onely mine. Speciall historie depends vpon the rare argument of the coigne; for both the which one act of exposition shall serue in their more proper place, and time. And that LO being the initial letters of the name, should in STRADA'S coigne signifie LONDON, cannot seeme strange either to the learned, or the ignorant, when in other coignes concerning BRITAIN, the meere single L it selfe imports as much. Nor will it be the fortune of any man to finde a towne in BRITAIN, whose name beginning with those letters, can be fit to beare the stately title of a *metropolis*, but this alone.

London to say the truth (say those famous ANNALS) *was not ennobled with the surname of a colonie.* The ROMANS therefore who had setled their households in LONDON (for as wise SENECA obserues, they made their countrey euery place where they ouercame) were so many, that nothing wanted to erect it into a colonie, but an act of the SENATE of ROME to authorise the title, and rights; their numbers appearing to bee alreadie sufficient for support of the charge, and dignitie. They therefore and their fellowes, the natural BRITANNs,

together with the ordinarie sequels of their persons, and professions, who dwelt therein, ammounted to an extraordinarie multitude, which made the place not more populous then full of houses. For the proportion of habitations answers the proportion of inhabitants. How many the LONDONERS were of either kinde, is a matter lesse known, then how far euery way the buildings went, which neither could be narrow, nor ignoble; but large as forcopious merchants, & magnificent as for magnifico's. For, as the most learned CAROLVS SIGONIVS obserues out of CICERO, the gentlemen, and knights of ROME, dealt in merchandise at home, and abroad, and were members of the college of *Mercurie*, whose statelie seate was vpon mount CAPITOLINE it selfe, and whose limbs, and parts were spread through the ROMAN world. One of the suburbs of NERO'S LONDON abutted vpon the fields which are at this day termed of the neighbour *Spittle*, as NERO'S coigns, and the coigns of other emperours dig'd vp there, among the monuments of the dead, doe abundantly witness. The very bignesse of LONDON a cause why PAVLLINVS forlooke it the rather, as hauing not men enough to keepe it. So antient a citie of the BRITANNES, the same in like sort soonew a seat of the ciuill ROMANS, could neither want temples, baines, aquæducts, courts of counsel, and iustice, nor other publicke workes to render it complete in it selfe, and a farre-off worth the beholding. The riuer full of ships (for merchants and shippes doe alwayes suppose one the other) the riuege full of sea-faring men, the inns full of strangers. Here was the staple of trade, and the capitall mart of BRITAIN, the bower of the noble (for
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they had no where else to be so furnisht,) the blisse of the thrifrie (for they had no where else to bee so enriched) the delight of all. Here also, or no where rather, the publicke storehouses, granaries, and magazines; the safest stowage of gotten spoiles, the soldiers packs, and baggage, *the hostages* of the BRITISH states, the *publicke records*, (as at SAMAROBRIVA vnder IVLIVS CÆSAR, in GALL-BELGICK) and whatsoeuer stuffe, or provisions SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS in his aspiring spirit, might designe for a triumphall, or an o-uant showe at ROME. His care to reach to LONDON before the cruell rebels, an argument of the premisles, and of this also, that it was the top it selfe of all the ROMAN interest in BRITAIN. His purpose moreouer to erect the same into the seate of warre, makes it credible, that it was not without a wall euen then, but euery way defensib; had it met with a season more fauourable, or with a captain as firme as the faith of the people. Within it the splendor of armes, and the furnitures of peace, which till the most fierce BOADICIA stricke vp for battle, was euery where most deepe, and still. And whereas the place of store had euermore a strong guard within it, as at SAMAROBRIVA before said, where a legion lay in defense, so here (if my diuinations faile mee not) either *the* valorous *fourteenth* kept, or some large portion thereof, as in the main stay, or seat of the empires part in BRITAIN, it selfe also the key or gate of the prouince, which lay beyond the riuer from SVREY-side towards CORNVALL. An argument hereof, that though LONDON for the territorie was *Trinobantish*, yet for the iurisdiction was *Cantian*; at leastwise, in PTOLOMEAS dayes vnder

der ADRIAN. And the *infrequencie* of soldiers which is alledged in TACITVS for a cause why SVETONIVS did dislodge from thence, was the *infrequencie* (if coniecture hits right) of that braue bold legion, whose bands and troupes were not full as then, by reason of absences vpon leaue, or farre dispersion of the parts, which all came in before the battle, though wanting at the musters. Thus rich, thus populous, thus great, thus strong, thus goodlie, and thus abounding with all the necessaries, and pleasures of life, SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS possessed LONDON at his returne from MONA, for the seruice of CÆSAR, and of CÆSARS ROMAN-BRITAIN.

§. XX.

Nero's lieutenant in Britain abandons London to the rebels.

NOr did the place seeme of lesse importance to SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS himself, who (all other businesse set apart) vnderwent so much paine, and perill, to reach and keepe it. But LIPSIVS not without cause complaines of the many wants and imperfections of narration in this noble piece of the CORNELIAN *Annals*; the blame whereof hee principallie casts (as commonly elswhere) vpon transcribers, who while they should haue giuen vs true copies, haue otherwise vsed their pleasures in them, contrarie to faith, and office. For in a matter which had somewhat in it of a wonder, to tell vs nothing but the name of the

vertue by which PAVLLINVS wrought, to bring himselfe from MONA to LONDON, yeelds slender satisfaction. But if some part of his adventures; and some particulars of his carriage had been withall vnfolded, the competent reader (whose properlie the iudgement is) could of himselfe haue gathered out of them, whither it was *constancie*, or *rashnesse* in the ROMAN Generall, to march through the middle of his enemies. Which heroicke action, as now it stands declared, may rather seeme of one who had gotten a ring, or receipt, to qualifie him with a gliding inuisibilitie, then his who followed right reason, the onely true guide of valour. Moreouer ~~also~~, it would not haue beene impertinent, but very satisfactorie, and vsfull, to haue reuealed what kindes of soldiers, and how many went with him in guard along; where they rested vpon the way; and among what seuerall nations; as XENOPHON in his excellent bookes of CYRVS his *Ascesse* hath done. But the law of ANNALS, requires no such exactnesse, being properlie nothing else but summaries, or narrow registers. I for my part am glad to behold so many points, and glimmerings of facts remaining in TACITVS for accomplishing our countreyes historie in this most memorable parcell. In him therefore wee finde the subject matter of PAVLLINVS his main deliberation at LONDON; his doubtfulnesse what to resolve; his generall musters there; his scantnesse of numbers; the capitall motiue of his warinesse; his finall determination, and execution thereof. The question in counsell was; *whither bee should choose and vse London for the seat of warre or otherwise abandon it*. Before the propofure whereof it must necessarily precede, that he resolved with himselfe, not

to issue out to fight with Boadicia; And both these points were principally grounded vpon the knowledge of weakenesse in the R O M A N partie, discovered after his entrance at the musters. To perswade a stay, the reasons were great and many. *The preservation of so famous a place; the honour of the Roman name; the certaintie of aid from Nero; the danger of a retreat; the necessitie of giuing a stop to Boadicia's furie.* But without some competent proportions of forces, he was warnd by the fresh disaster of P E T I L I V S C E R E A L I S not to hazard battle. To authorise a departure there wanted not arguments, and those most weightie. For, whereas S V E T O N I V S P A V L L I N V S had here appointed the generall assemblie of his side, now vpon a view taken, his troupes and companiës were not found full, but *infrequent*, and thin. The main prop therefore of resistance failed, which whither it were by C A T V S D E C I A N V S his example, fraud, or basenesse, or otherwise, did howsoever happen. A more compulsorie cause was want of corne, which D I O notes. For neither without store of men could so great a citie be defended; nor men be kept aliue without food. The fortune of L O N D O N thus hanging in ballance, and swaying mainly downwards for the present, the newes of B O A D I C I A's terrible approach, draue them whither they would or no, to a round, and present resolution. *That seeing LONDON could not be made good against the preuailing rebells, who were now in their ruffe and vtmost brauery, the excellencie of the place could be no colour why they should wilfullie perisb with it. The honour of the Roman name was double safe, both by the monstrous oddes now against them, and by a meere necessitie. Besides that, whensoever they got the vpper-hand againe, honour would acknowledge old clients, and*
willing-

willinglie retorne with aduantage. And though aid would certainlie arriue to relieue them besieged, it would bee more acceptable at Rome so to order things here in Britain as not to need reliefe: and if there should bee need, Nero's succours would not come lesse contentedlie to find their fellowes in an open field, then shut vp within ditches, and fortifications, as in a kinde of dishonourable pinfold. The danger of a retreat nothing comparable to the mischiefe of a stay. And London was not lost gratis, but did a seruice worth it selfe, if the ritches, and pleasures thereof could performe that for the present, which their armed powers were vnable to doe. The stop of Boadicia's furie much better to be made with onelie the fortunes of a place, then besides the losse of the best towne with the remains also of all the Roman-Britann powers together in one. Nor could any goods perish, which were but sackt, or pillaged, and not quite destroid: for one victorie would recouer both all their owne things, and their enemies. It was therefore a loan or licence, rather then a desperate debt, or shipwracke, to permit the rebells to make spoile, and bootie, and meerey a stale, or golden ball, such as Atalanta stoopt vnto. Therefore, while the greedie Boadicians spent their time in sharing among themselues the wealth of the most famous merchant-towne of Britain, the Roman partie should haue opportunitie to gather head elsewhere, without the shame of an open flight, and with the certaintie of making a secure retreat. Nor though Boadicia, perceiving the scope, should be willing to suspend the sackage, and plie the pursuit, yet would she not dare to vrge it, because the cardinall mysterie of her greatnesse was licence to rob and steale. This benefit among the rest not the least, that euen time it selfe would abate the edge, and quantitie of the present mischiefe, nothing violent being permanent; wayes would also be found, how to sunder

der the combined, thereby to weaken the mightie knot; and if nothing else yet this would vndoubtedlie happen, that euery one as he had gotten most, would most affect to be gone, each to enioy his purchase, the end and fruit of their partakings; nor should Boadicia bee alwayes able to hold them together. And to imagine the very least, yet the commoditie, to assemble, and enable the Roman partie, would vndoubtedly follow; whereby the necessitie to fight should bring no necessitie vpon them of being ouercome in fight, but a iuster hope of preuailing by the meanes of more prouisions. Thus was LONDON heauily condemned to bee left for the time to the lusts, or mercie of the rebels. In execution of which sad sentence, the ROMAN Generall caused it to be proclaimed through the city, that *hee must rise and leaue the place*, though not the people; for whosoever would depart and partake with him the fortune of warre vnder the ROMAN name, and standard, should be receiued, the rest vpon this warning were otherwise to prouide for themselves so well as they could, either by abode, or absence. The LONDONERS, the comfort of whose liues, and hopes relied vpon the issue of this counsell of warre, tooke desperation in at the same eare at which these newes did enter. The wofull estate, and face of a people and things, after such a proclamation, cannot easilie be imagined. And in historicall narrations of calamities it is vnlawfull to faine at all, or to make any other description then of only that which was actualle, and properly theirs of whom the speech is instituted. Offices of inuention, and imagination, are the proper of other MUSES; those of reason, and consequent discourse the onely ones of historie. This we finde in textuall authoritie, that vpon this dismall Oyez, Oratours in the name of the whole corpo-

corporation besought the Generall with teares, and cries, not to forsake them. But in vaine; for against all batteries of passionate gestures, vowes, and adiurations, hee continued inexorable firme to his own decree. Of them therefore who were at this instant time of L O N D O N, some resolved to stay behinde; being persons whom either weakenesse of age, or sex made vnable to flye, or such other as the sweets, and dearenesse of the most beloued place, confirmed in a desire to stand, or perish with it. The residue being fitted as well as the miserie, and shortnesse of the time would possible suffer, encreased (as C A M D E N obserues) the forces of P A V L L I N V S, and were receiued after the signall of departure, into part of his host, or conuoy: The riuer vndoubtedly, though straightly beset, at leastwise vpon *London-side*; befriended many by affording meanes to escape. The R O M A N S had a nauie vpon the coasts, as appeares in T A C I T V S at the end of the B R I T I S H affaires, where T V R P I L I A N succeeds in the charge.

§. XXI.

London entred, sackt, and set on fire by Boadicia.

S V E T O N I V S P A V L L I N V S, hauing absolutely thus quit the place; there are some reasons to perswade, that they who remaind behinde, attempted to defend themselues, without dying whollie vnreuenged. For they besought not P A V L L I N V S of his stay, but of his *helpe*; and in the life of A G R I C O L A there is mention, after the

the burning of the R O M A N colonie, that B O A D I C I A forced a great fortified ground, or *castra*, whereby whatsoever T A C I T U S meanes, whether a *campe*, according to the nature of the word, or (contrary to the propriety of his speaking, and of the Latin language in those dayes) some mighty *castles*, or *citadels*; to looke for such a thing any other-where rather than here, is improbable: finally; the same grauest author writes, that they who remained, were ouer-laid by the enimie; which argues a resistance; and D I O expressely professeth, that B V N D V C A did assaile and take two cities by force. But of the fort of L O N D O N, commonly knowne all in present by the nobler part thereof, *the Tower*; and of D I A N A's temple (where the cathedrall church of Saint P A V L doth thrust the head thereof into the clouds) which as the temple of C L A V D I V S in C A M A L O D V N V M did, might serue as a castle for the time; as of whatsoever else may in most likelihood concerne this point of defense, there may be opportunity to speake elsewhere more at large. B O A D I C I A, succeeding to P A V L L I N V S with a most different affection, was now become absolute mistresse of L O N D O N, and of all therein. The wilde vplandish crewes of her beggerlie kern, and sauages, with the rest of that rable, spared nothing quicke, or dead. Thirst of reuenge in her, and rapine in them banisht all humanitie. The streets and houses, and all the corners were filled with miserable murthers; the goods felt other ruder owners then the right ones; nor did they content themselves with a simple massacre; and when they had glutted their barbarous appetites with all sorts of licentiousnesse, and outrage, they fired the spacious towne, as if in the smoake of the burnings the

note of their carriage should vapour away. A most horrible effect of the pretended recouerie of liberty. But while they consumed what things or persons it pleased them, they withall consumed time, to their vndoing, and farallie cockerd themselues vp with the hope of continuall felicitie: the cause why they finally miscarried. G A L G A C V S wisely afterwards obserued it in a speech, to his *Caledonian* BRITANNS. This destruction was particularlie foretold among the former wonders, by the images of shattered houses vnder water; which being seene in the riuer of T H A M E S, belonged not in the qualitie of the presage, to C A M A L O D V N V M, but to L O N D O N. Of those *fourscore* thousand R O M A N S, & R O M A N - B R I T A N N S, which were slaine by the B O A D I C I A N S in this vast reuolt (as D I O giues the account) fewer then *fortie thousand* could not perish here, according to the least proportion. That such was now the fortune of the place, cannot be colourable doubted; both because T A C I T V S in generall words hath testified, that fire was among the common instruments of B O A D I C I A 's reuenge, and P A V L L I N V S himselfe is my witnesse in D I O, that here it wrought particularlie, though he names not L O N D O N otherwise then by circumstance. For of those two chiefe townes destroid in this dreadfull rebellion by firing them, the one (saith he) was *betraid*; evidently C A M A L O D V N V M: the other was *abandoned*; the speciall case of L O N D O N. The faithfull towne sitting vtterly desolate in cinders, and ashes, among the dead trunckes, and bloudlesse bodies of the late children and inhabitants therof, had no other comfort but the honourable conscience of constant loialtie; and the noble hope to rise againe more happy,

pie, and maiesticall; which afterwards proued so true, that for the greater dignitie it came to bee entituled A V G V S T A. The nature of the merit immortal in the fame, and the imitation perpetuall to the people. Nor doth any thing threaten the glorie thereof so much, as the halfe-brutish manners of the rascall multitude (the branne, and scurfe of all societies) who darken the desarts of the worthie, by confounding their qualitie in common estimation abroad. Or rather not they, but some disguised limbs of such crewes as swarme forlorne, and desperate, about the citie, without profession of life, and who contriue for disorder. Full amendment the proper and continual care of the magistrate; the wishes of that amendment common with my selfe to all who loue the honour of the realme therin, & LONDON.

§. XXII.

VERVLAM *sackt, and destroyed by BOADICIA. An essentiall difference betweene the persons of a municipium, and a colonie.*

THe same miserable fortune there was of the towne called VERVLAM (a *municipium*, or a *free-borough* of the ROMANS) as there was of LONDON it selfe. And though in CORNELIVS TACITVS it be the last of the three famous places in the order of naming, which were entered vpon at this time, yet whither it were also such in the order or suffering, may be doubted. For how doth that reason hold good which SVETONIVS rendred as the finall cause of his quitting LONDON,

DON, By the losse of one towne to saue the whole residue, if VERVLAM was ouerwhelmed after? But being it is cleare for the disorder of the fact, the strife, or doubt concerning the order of the time, may very well cease, and wee may follow what wee finde. CAMDEN probablie supposeth this towne to haue beene the very same which IVLIVS CÆSAR wanne by assault from king CASSIBELINE, Captaine-generall of the league of BRITAIN. VERVLAM therefore is now but a part of the common calamitie which was then the onely all. Nor did any thing more vnmaske the couetous, corrupt, and inwardly most vicious intents of the BOADICIANS, then the iniurie done hereunto. For in CAMALODVNVM the maine bodie and stocke of the people were ROMANS, and LONDON likewise was full of them, which ministred some colour for mercilesse carriage; but why they should deale in that manner with VERVLAM, the magistrates, and comminalltie whereof were BRITANNS, no tollerable cause can be well assigned. True it is they had the dignitie and benefit to be free of ROME, but were not otherwise ROMAN. A principall difference betweene the persons of a *colonie*, and those of a *municipium*, this; that in a *colonie* they were euermore drawne out of the corporation it selfe of the people of ROME, as members before; but in the other, they were not any part of that imperiall bodie till fauourably receiued by *municipiall* priuiledge into the *freedome*; men generally forein else, and but by admission capable. The VERVLANIANS therefore were BRITANNS, though now they smarted as ROMANS, & found their riches to be their vndoing. It might be supposed (if histories were places for supposals) that king

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COGIDVNVS (of whom there is already sufficient spoken) was Lord of the soile about, which being vpon the frontire of the reuolted TRINOBANTS, the towne for that cause. suffered mischiefe, in hatred, and despite of his constant friendship to his great benefactors the ROMANS. And here among many other the like, in the CORNELIAN *Annals*, the infelicitie of the text, corrupted by transcription, breeds confusion. Nor doth the surgerie of *Criticks* so heale it, but that new galls and blisters may still arise. What TACITVS would principallie say is not obscure: For hee hath told vs; *that the Britanns, omitting castles, and garrisons, as tedious and troublesome to conquer, ranged loose about, and made bootie or hauock of that which was most of worth abroad;* And although a very commodious sense seemes to lurke vnder the disordered shufflings of the vulgar text, which is, *that the Boadicians carried their pillage, and robberies into places of safety (whither woods or bogges, or whatsoeuer elie) and full of gladnesse for their cheuillance, did then come againe to fetch more* (which euery man will repute reasonable to suppose) yet those learned maisters frame other coniectures; best to be seene in their owne writings. The most iudicious of them agree in this to be the sense; *that the Boadicians sought for that which was most gainefull to themselves, and withall vn safe for the owners to defend; a people forward to boot-hale, and consume, but backward to the duties of warre.* A censure they well deserued, and extends to all others, who propounding to themselves no laborious, nor honest meanes of life, long for ciuill confusions, that they might haue what to lauish, though for but neuer so short a while, and with whatsoeuer lasting miserie of the innocent
and

and industrious. Nations marke it wel. The ruins of VERVLAM (soone afterwards re-ëmpeopled, and flourishing) a wall of flints and bricke, eaten downe into the earth with age and weather, and deepe double trenches about, which remaine at this day, looke sadly with an ouer-growne face vpon the towne of Saint ALBAN, and retaine the antient name. That the syllable VER, the first in the word, should be somewhat sounding honorable in the BRITISH tongue, because VER.GOBRET was the name of a chiefe magistracie among the GALLS (whose language was the same with the BRITANNs) and their most heroicke champion, was called VER-CINGETORIX, is more easie to image, then to prooue. But that it signified the same with *Mawr*, is probable, if the sense of *Ver*, or VAWR, in some BRITISH dialect, bee likewise equiuallent to *Great* in *English*, as MAWR is. *Great* an apt addition in these particulars. HVMFREY LHVID, one of the most learned late antiquaries of the BRITANNs, will haue it, that the prettie streame which runs thereby was denominatiue of the place, and VERLAM to haue been *Wer-lhan*, the fane, or temple vpon the water *Werr*, hee supposing that to be the name thereof, the same towne also afterwards called CAER-municip, by occasion of the ROMAN franchise. It is no great matter whither of the opinions be truer, or if neither. Here also sword, and fire (the instruments of wrath & furie) deuoured what rapine left: nor fewer thousands then *tenne* of those *eightie*, which the BODICIANS slew in all, could probably perish therein.

§. XXIII.

The most savage behaviours of the Boadicians in the vse of their victories throughout.

THus farre the motions, and actions of that mightie bodie of enemies assembled together vnder a most glorious title, *the recoverie of common libertie*, and commanded in chiefe by BOADICIA, prospered after their manner. The same being now at the vtmost height aswell for successe as wickednesse, fell sodeinly to ground. No wonder at all; considering how hatefull they had made themselves in the sight of God and man, by abusing their power, and fortunes: quite blotting out all the splendours of their fauourable cause, with the foulenesse of their carriage. There was no taking to mercy (saith TACITVS,) no quarter allowed, no hope of ransome, nor any trade of tearmes, as in other warres; but blades, halters, fire, gallowes, and vter vengeance to all that was ROMAN, or towards it; the Boadician BRITANNS not onely struing to be euen with their oppressours, for the wrongs they had done, but also to get before-hand with them, by worse, and greater. But not to accuse this course too far, because their purpose was absolutely to root out all that was ROMAN; the vnkinde-ly kindes of their savage practise in the workes of reuenge, and extirpation, are hardly credible. BOADICIA, a most martiall, bold, and mighty Lady, but not woman enough; for led by infernall superstitions, or no lesse then infernall passions, her BRI-
TANNS

TANNs tooke the most noble, and honourable dames among their enemies, stript them naked, sliced away their pappes, sticht them to their mouthes as to make them seeme feeding, and finally staked their bodies through in length. *Villanies* at which barbaritie it selfe would blush, and which in themselues most horrible, DIO's credit makes credible. The men whom they far more cruelly saued, then they could haue simplie slaine, had their bellies ript open aliue (saith SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS in XI PHILINE) their boweles cut out: some gored vpon burning stakes, and others boild to death in seething water. *Man is to man a diuell at times*; no where rather verifide then here. The forms and paines of these murthers not to be out-gone for their invention, and execution, sauage wit found how to aggrauate by religious impiety, and irreligious contumely. For it being not absurd to think, that they might also eat what thus was drest (the inference familiar from the shambles to the kitchin) these certainly whether sacrifices, or games, were most spitefully presented, while they offred in their temples, or reuel'd at their feasts, but specially in the groue of their goddesse ANDATE, the patronesse of their proceedings, as ANDRASTA, or ADRASTE was their deitie of reuenge. For DIO, and XI PHILINE, in BVNDVCA's oration, distinctly speake of them as of two seuerall, if our copies bee sincere. Their great sacrifice of all, which CÆSAR, and STRABO describe, is rather not remembered here in particular, then likely to haue been forborn. The DRVIDS who dealt in bloud, the authors, & actors of all; vpon this one ground of doctrine in their schooles, that *the wrath of the Gods could not be appeased in a case of life, but with the life of man*. And their

their inhumane diuinations had not any other reason for their mysterie. They composed a *colossus* of wouen of yars, or a monstrous bigg gyant of wicker, which stufte with men, was set on a fiery blaze, and burnt all. STRABO writes that they had an huge image of hay, vnder which not onely men, (shot first with arrowes, or fixt vpright vpon rafters) but cattle, and al sorts of beasts were packt and consumed together. The generall words in TACITVS, and the particular in DIO, exclude not these figures of death from the acts of this tragicke vengeance, though they expresse them not. And a thing so solemne with the *Druids* of GALL (whose mother-schools were in BRITAIN) which might answere in quantitie to a GREEK *hecatomb*, and was in very deed an *holocaust*, was not probablie omitted now, in such plenty of humane bodies, and so great wantonnesse of inhumane butcheries. But this augments not the opinion of their cruelties, though it addes a strange one to the formes. There is more then enough already said, to shew how iustly the BOADICIANS perished. To fall into the hands of the wilde and vitious, is a wretched, and a dreadfull thing.

§. XXIIII.

The course which Suetonius Paulinus held in his retreat from London, and of his constraint to resolve for fight.

BVt while BOADICIA, and her people grew ripe for ruin, the ROMAN-generall, after he had abandoned LONDON, maintayned retreat, partly to gather more strength, but specially to shunne for the time the furie of a prosperous hatred. For DIO plainly tels vs, *that hee feared the encounter.* Such were the heats and darings of the victorious enemy. The way which SVETONIVS tooke, after his departure, was in mine opinion toward SEVERN, where PÆNIVS POSTHVMS, encamped with the *second legion*, among the SILVRES. A great acceſſion of strength in ſuch an addition of number. Neuertheſſe it failed. For when SVETONIVS commanded them to draw themſelves vp to his quarter, PÆNIVS POSTHVMS, maiſter of the camp, and of the company, vtterly refuſed to come, contrary to the dutie of his place, and diſcipline of warr. Of him BOADICIA vndoubtedly meant, where ſhe glories in her ſpeech before the fight, that of thoſe ROMANS who had eſcaped her ſword, *ſome couered themſelves within their camp, and the reſt* (SVETONIVS, and his powers then preſent in the field) *did but caſt about which way to flye.* But in his march towards that *second legion*, the Generall, by croſſing the THAMES at LONDON, could not but farre away prouide beſt
for

for his owne more safetie, and his peoples moſt ſuſtentation. For in keeping the riuer vpon his right hand ſtill, the water was both a deepe barre againſt the purſuing enemy, and betweene the ſame and the *Britiſh* OCEAN, the prouince, which ran all along, was ROMAN. Thus houer'd hee aloofe, in obedience to his nature, which being ſlow, and weighty, preferred ſafe courſes with reaſon, aboue great good lucke by chance. But when hee beheld the intollerable brauery of the woman, in maintaining a perſonall chafe vpon him (for it was not long before ſhe followed cloſe, and quicke) it was high time to redeeme his ſame, or die in the quarrell. Away goe all lingrings therefore; euer more pernicious, when things are no longer to bee debated, but done. The neceſſitie of action often begets felicity in action: and a ſtate of feare is a ſtate of guard. Vaine confidence deſtroid the other.

ſ. XXV.

The number and qualitie of the Roman forces, provided for fight.

Concerning the power which SVETONIUS PAVLLINVS had in readineſſe at this great extremity; TACITVS is vniuerſally ſo vnderſtood, that the whole number is not taken to haue amounted to fully *tenne* thouſand, horſe, and foote of all ſorts in armes. A dreadfull diſproportion againſt three and twenty times as many. They are named in the CORNELIAN ANNALS, *the fourteenth legion*, with the rereguard, or *triarij*, of the

twentieth, as some doe point the readings, and *aids*, of the nearest at hand, drawne out as vpon a violent need in haste: but, as others doe place the points, they are reckoned the *fourteenth legion* with the *Triarij*, or *reere of the same*, and the *vicefirmarians*, or soldiers of the *twentieth*, together with aids as before-said. The word for that companie is in the text *uexillarij*, which some haue translated *standard-bearers*. But any thing (as it seemes) is good enough in their conceits, for the common swallow. Some expunctory volumes of such abuses would doe well. The number of these choise old soldiers (for they were *veterans*) the last hope of euery battle, was vpon certainty *six hundred*, and neuer either more, or fewer in complete legions, whose reere they alwaies made; and in later times, for their antient name *triarij*, they came to be styled *vexillarij*, because they fought vnder one *vexillum*, flag, or banner. They who would see more of this, may satisfie themselues out of *CLAVDIVS SALMASIVS*, the *SELDEN* of *GALLIA*, if without creating enuy to my learned friend, *John Selden*, I may compare them so. As for that common vnderstanding of *TACITVS* there, concerning the numbers, though no man supposeth any corruption of the text, yet may it well receiue a trauerse in common sense. For it will easily be credited that *SVETONIVS* brought some proportion of souldiers with him from the ile of *MONA*, if but for his necessary guard, vnlesse hee may bee thought to haue ridden poast from thence to *LONDON*, where there also was an assemblie of others, as is plaine, because the view of their thinnesse moued him to quit the station. Besides, hee tooke into a part of his troupe all the *voluntaries* of *LONDON*, and each legion had store of aids appertaining

pertaining to it selfe. *The fourteenth* (whose fame is greatest) had belonging to it eight cohorts of BATAVIANS, braue fellowes all, & were, if full, about foure thousand, who would groane out in their graues if they should be put from their share in the glorie of this day. And if no part could belong to them herein, *the fourteenth* alone which seemes to haue come entire; had fixe or seauen thousand beside the prest aides, and *the vicesimarians*. All which that they should not make ten thousand together, is strange. Therefore if the number bee true, the words of TACITVS may thus bee vnderstood, that to those forces with which SVETONIVS parted from LONDON, there came now in the end and in all, such, and so many more as amounted to almost ten thousand. If the number be not sincere, then the numeral word in the ANNALS, hath had a maine limb lopt away. And if it were *nine* aboue *tenne*, the wonder of the victorie would seme great enough euen with *nineteene* thousand.

§. XXVI.

Of Iulius Agricola, the father in law of Cornelius Tacitus.

NEither was it the least honour of SVETONIVS PAULLINVS, that IVLIVS AGRICOLA, (whose life his sonne in law CORNELIVS TACITVS (doubtfully whither with more pietie, or eloquence) hath commended to all posteritie) that he had his breeding for warre in his schoole, where he carried the honourable title of a tribune, and

and exercis'd al the duties of his place. On the other side, it was the speciall good fortune of AGRICOLA that he had PAVLLINVS for his maister, whose familiar friend he liued, and as well his companion in armes, as his *camerado*. Here therefore did that noble gentleman learne, how to command by hauing obeid, and what the warres of BRITAIN required, before hee came (as hee afterwards did) to bee Generall himselve in BRITAIN.

§. XXVII.

The number of men in Boadicia's armie, their nations, qualities, and armes.

BOADICIA, whose people had handled the quarrell of their countrey infinitely worse then the forest enemies which euer their countrey had, drew hattily vp to the fatal ground, vpon which SVETONIVS necessarily resolved to ride out the finall fortune of a day while any hope remained. Her two defloured daughters are the onely persons particularly remembred to haue attended in the seruice, and yet euen their names are lost. So inglorious are all whom the light of letters retaines not aloft in fight. Her numbers couerd the region ouer. *Two hundred and thirty thousand* fighting men in field. Successe, and spoile most effectuall meanes to multiply partakers. The ICENI, & the TRINOBANTS were chiefe in the action, as authors. There were also the CORITANI, and other *Marshmen* (BOADICIA shewes it in DIO, where she speaks of *fennes* and *logges* for hiding themselues, if ouerthrowne)

throwne) there were the ORDOVICES (for who else had such *mountaines* to shelter them as they?) and whosoever else of the BRITANNS, the BRIGANTS certainly were not absent. TACITVS expressly names them. And why the greatest *Criticks* should be so troubled thereat, as to substitute any other word for that, seemes to mee a great maruell. For the speaker in that place is GALGACVS, the rough *Caledonian Prince*, who vnder the one name of BRIGANTS (being among his nearest neighbours, and therefore most knowne to him) doth seeme to vnderstand, and comprise all the more *Southerlie* BRITANNS, who were at this time out in armes, vpon this one womans leading. To GALGACVS therefore all were indifferently BRIGANTS, who were not his. And besides the authoritie of TACITVS, the very description of the manners of some of the *Boadicians* in XI-PHILINE, doth plainly conuince, that the rudest nations were at this worke, and consequentlie the BRIGANTS, as neither the most polite, nor most remote, and certainly not least populous. Wherefore the CORNELIAN text is sincere, and decent. For GALGACVS is speaker, and not TACITVS. Nor can DIO's text bee iustified without this senses admission. For he was evidently too much in the thought of the MÆATS, and CALEDONIANS, such as his owne times saw them vnder the emperor SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, when he recorded his BVNDVCA's oration, if he meant the barbarous manners, which that oration boasteth to be common to all the BRITANNS who were in that martiall audiorie. For nothing can bee more vntrue: because, euen in IVLIVS CÆSARS times some of them were much more courteous then others, and

and the civility of many of the BRITANNNS, now vnder NERO, is confessed as a disadvantage. There is no doubt, nor cause of doubt why the BRIGANTS should not be helpees to BOADICIA as complices; vpon whom soone after the whole weight of warre did fall; nor improbable for this partaking. For the ROMANS prosecuted the contagion of assistance as they did the maine opposition it selfe. Their enemies succours, properly enemies. The most wilde, and barbarous theretore of the qualities which are deciphered in her oration, are onely to bee vnderstood of a part of the BRITANNNS, & not of all; or of the more Southerly. But amongst her strengths at this time, wee must not reckon the flockes of *British* wiues and women, who were brought to sit spectators of the expected vtter ruine of PAVLLINVS (the cause and hope of their iourney) though the versifier in his *Albions England*, pleasantly encroaching vpon the poet, doth furnish this *Queene-Mother*, and her martiall daughters, with *sixe thousand armed Ladies*, out of his *Homericall* hear-sayes. A licence of wit not vnbeseeeming the musicke of rimes, but incompetent for the gravity of storie, which admits no fables. And though the CORNELIAN writings mention not the nature of the *Boadician* armes, and weapons at this field, but repute them as naked men, and doe elsewhere before, deny, that the ORDOVICES (hardie BRITANNNS) had the vse either of *murrians*, or *breast-plates*, yet DIO, and XIPHILINE make it cleare that she not onely had soldiers *compleatly armed*, and *light both horse and foote*, but *charriots also of warre*, such as IVLIVS CÆSAR, in penning the *British* affaires, doth greatly celebrate, though of all these there is not the least inckling, or touch in CORNELIVS TACITVS.

§. XXVIII.

*Of the place of the battle, and season of the
yeare.*

THe leuell, or plot of ground vpon which the army of BOADICIA, by the ROMANS foretallment, came to be embatteld, was certainly vpon a *plaine*, of at least *siue*, or *sixe miles* ouer in breadth, betweene *two woods*; at either end of the open field one. The quantitie of the space shall bee made apparent by the same infallible demonstration in the *Tacticks*, by which POLYBIUS disprooued CALLISTHENES, erroneously describing the field betweene ALEXANDER, and DARIUS; as that point also of *the two woods*, by the best bookes compared. But whereabout in these parts of BRITAIN, that very place was, vnlesse it were vpon SALISBVRIE *plaine*, where there is a *black-heath*, and scope enough, is not for mee to imagine. Edmund Spencer, who was in his time, the most learned poet of ENGLAND, layes it to haue beene further off; for he names *besides SEVERN*. But without praying in aide of his poems, I seeme to my selfe to haue made it vehementlie probable, that the field was hereabout, by hauing shewed that PAVLLINVS was marcht hitherwards. And somewhat perhaps it will fortifie the coniecture, that vpon the brimme, or skirts of this most spacious *plaine*, nor far from *Stonage*, there suruiue at this houre three memorable arguments of antient camps, the greatest of which being ouer against

WILLY, is doubly enuironed with depth of ditch, and by the forme (saith CAMDEN) appears to haue beene a ROMAN worke, the other singlie; none of them farre asunder, and all of them distinguished, by the common people, with the seuerall names of *Yanesburie castle*, *Dunshot*, and *Woldsburie*. And admitting that VESPASIAN was the author of *Yanesburie* vnder CLAVDIVS (as some doe well diuine) that cannot hinder why SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS should not the rather make vse thereof at this time vnder NERO, both as a strength readie wrought, and fortunately hanfeld by the lucke of so braue a commander. Concerning the time of the yeare; it was manifestlie in the stoope thereof, as declining towards *the winter-quarter*; which many signes, extant in TACITVS, seeme to discover: the expedition of MONA abruptly ended; the mention of winter-campes; and the BRITANNS trusting for corne to the ROMAN store or haruest, which they presumed should be theirs. So it may be thought to haue beene at sometime or other in *September*, when these two GENERALS, more opposite in affections then diuerse in sex, encountred.

§. XXIX.

The order of the Roman battle.

THE ROMAN Generall, in marshalling his little army, did principally labour, *to keepe all his enemies before him*, that their vnreasonable numbers might not enclose, nor ouer-lay him. And
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in that one point the maine mysterie of his finall hopes consisted. Therefore he selected a place with a *wood* at his backe, to serue with the help of art as a wall, or bulwarke behinde: from whence forth-right, and before the entrance into the open *wowlds* or *plaines*, the whole plot of ground betweene cheeke, and cheeke, but specially at the very mouth it selfe, was narrow, and yet withall wide enough to containe his people, as being halfe a myle broad, or so; the sides themselues secure, by whatsoeuer thickets, waters, cliffes, or moores, or other aduantages of nature, or prouisions of skill, by trenches, or barricadoes, with his carriages and the like, in which the *R O M A N S* were excellently ready maisters. A ground well chosen for fight is not a little onwards to a victorie: and these *straights*, hauing the *euen countrey* for a prospect, and therefore true against ambush, were to the *R O M A N S* as a very campe or fortresse. *P A V L L I N V S* hauing thus deuised for the best, and fore-stalled the choise of the field, hee drew out his soldiers, now thoroughly refresht, and furnisht. They were *Legionaries*, freemen of *R O M E*, and *auxiliaries*, their fellows in armes, and not otherwise *R O M A N S*; and these of all sorts, horse and foote, and as well heauy, as light armed men. His principall hope, and strengths resided in the *fourteenth legion*, which was there entire. The victorious standard, and ensignes whereof, thought to be worthie of a particular memoriall, were aduanced in such forme as this coigne in *L I P S I V S* specifies.

The method of his proceedings was this. He diuided the bodie of his force within these straights, into *three* wards, or battallia's (for that is euident in D I O) that he might the better keepe himselfe from the mortall mischiefe of circumuention, and oppression, and also by possessing the whole plot, fight at once and in front quite through. And hereunto he was necessarily driuen, because the enemies, as to daunt him with the ostentation of their multitudes, which threatned a most certaine surcharge, tooke vp in front *siue*, or *sixe miles* at least, as where their order of battaile comes to bee displaied will appeare. The legionaries how many thousands is vncertaine. Fewer then *sixe* they were not. Of them (vp-on whom the bloudie summe, and weight of the worke did rest) the middle ward, or main consisted, commonly armed with helmets, raised higher with plumes of feathers, and substantiall breast-plates, each of them ballancing two or three *piles*, or darting iauelings in their hands. A terrible weapon. For being about *seauen foote* long, and plated with yron halfe way from the massiue head downward, the head it selfe either round, and broad, or more vsually foure square, the staffe alone a prettie gripe about, they could in hurling deliuer it with such a violence,

violence, as to strike through a corslet, yea, through the man himselfe sometimes, and armour together. For the vse of combat, each had a couering target, either ouall round, or square and hollow, in manner of a rooffe-tile, about thirtie inches thwart, and aboue fiftie long, with a broad *Spanish* sword, which hung somewhat off behinde, with the pommell towards the right hand, not much aboue two foot long in blade, of an excellent temper, fine and thin, to lop off limbs, but passing strong at the point to maintaine a thrust, or foine. Nor doth CORNELIVS TACITVS mention any other sort of legionaries in the infantry at this field. On either hand of this martiall *phalanx* stood the battles of the *aids*, with speares and greater swords, and though they might haue the titles, or properties of *vann* and *rere*, yet it is cleare enough in XIPHILINE, that they made all but one front with the legionaries, from whom they were distinguisht with certaine spaces competent. The troupes of horse stood ready in wings. And they (in mine opinion) were extraordinary many, because TACITVS, who makes but one battle of the stedfast infantry in all, casting off the light-armed into clusters, and plumps about, supplies the sides with caullarie. The ordinarie proportion of horse to a legion was but three hundred, which they diuided into two maine bodies, and subdiuided by thirties into cornets, which would make but poore weake wings, or rather not wings, but according to the phrase of the CORNELIAN *Annals*, the two other battalions for supply of *vann*, and *rere*, in regard that all the three diuisions of the armie, in DIO, seemed after a sort to be put into one, by placing them in one and the selfe same line of longitude. Their great vse also at
this

this great seruice doth alone demonstrate, that the numbers of the horse were vnusually many, nor vnlikely to be either all, or, the most part of the caualarie which belonged to all the ROMAN legions in BRITAIN. I for my part haue suspected and thought, that PAVLLINVS came from ANGLESEY to LONDON, with none but horse, and those, them of *the twentieth legion*. And there is no cause for vs to thinke, why PETILIUS CEREALIS might not spare his horse-troups hither, himselfe being shut vp within his fortifications. So that let PÆNIVS POSTHVMVS enioy his owne feares, and with-hold his concurrence at this field, yet (as we see here) SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS might be otherwise furnished with extraordinary horse-troupes. What vse or station *the old soldiers*, or *the rere of the twentieth legion* had in this field, there is no particular mention any where, I with that there had beene, because they seeme to haue done very nobly, as well because their presence is singularly specified, as a very choise member of the ROMAN forces here, as for that they wanne much honour to their proper companie, or legion. But because their speciall placings are not remembred, it seemes most likely, that they fought not apart, but were sorted among other the ribs, & sinewes of the legionarie forces. The forlorne hopes of foote, or light nimble shot, of all sorts (DIO names *archers* in particular) whose part was to take off the edge of the encounter, were cast off before the squadrons, in carelesse and scattered companies. All the soldiers who expected in battle-ray, but specially the legionaries were vpon the least distance one from another, which the vse of their weapons would permit, that fighting all close together, they might at
once

once be both impenetrable, & invincible. The breadth and depth of their battalia's, because the true measure of the ground is unknown, cannot be certaine; but supposing all the men were but well-near *tenne thousand*, the length of the whole front of all the three battles might containe, at three foot space betweene man and man, about *four*, or *five* hundred, and in file about *seauenteen*, or *eighteen*, leauing interualls betweene battalia and battalia, for retreats and other vses, and roome for the horse-troopes vpon the outsides. All which might together take vp *about that halfe a mile* ouer, in the mouth of the straights, which is mentioned before. The ouerplus of the soldiers (for vpon the point of *eight thousand* would doe all this) may be thought to bee in referue for accidents, and other the sodein exigents of warre. And this coniecture of about *four* or *five* hundred in rancke, is somewhat supported out of TACITVS himselfe, where after the end of the battle, he writes, that near vpon *four hundred* were slaine of the ROMAN side, *and not many more hurt* or wounded. Which seemes as much as if hee had said, that the fortune of the two first rancks dispatched the day. And this might well be true according to the axiom of PAVLLINVS, in the CORNELIAN ANNALS, putting his people in minde, that euen *where many legions fought, a few hands did the deede*. But as for the numbers in the ROMAN party at this battle, I haue elsewhere before tendred some reasons, which lead me to beleeeue they were rather twice *tenne thousand* then onely the moitie of twenty. Thus while the Generall was busied, and as he past from company to company, he inspired them with courage, by the life of his presence, and power of his words, *calling them some-*
time

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time by the glorious name of Romans, and other while by the more familiar title of companions in armes and fellow soldiers. He sets before their eyes the cruelties, and horrid dealings of their enemies, their owne and their countreyes honour, and their common danger in the most absolute necessity of doing, or dying nobly. No hope but in victorie; no refuge for runnawayes. Pure Manhood, and the fauour of their cause with powers diuine, who vse to incline to the sufferers of wrong (such as hee in D I O declares their cause to be) the onely meanes of safety to themselues, and of recouering Britain to the empire, which was otherwise now in manifest perill to bee vtterly torne away. Hee sowed withall euery where about him, most certaine hopes of good successe, by remembring their former valours, and prosperities against these very enemies, whom hee named contemptible, as men both vnskillfull, and vnarmed, mingling for a speciall ingredient towards the atchieuement of the victorie, this precept or rule of fight; that after they had most forceably throwne their piles home, they should all then rush forth together in a runne, and with their drawne swords, and the boies of their targets, presse in round and close, and neuer giue ouer till they preuailed. His conclusion: that if the worst should happen, yet hee and they, by dying honourably on the place, should keepe possession of Britain, were it but with their dead bodies onely. In these, and the like exercises of speech and action, PAVLLINVS spent the whole time till the very instant it selfe of ioyning. Nor fell his words, like burning sparckles vpon dancke and vnprepared matter, but vpon dry, tindry spirits, such as were most ready to take, and kindle: which their countenances, and gestures testified. The dutie of a Chiefe towards the point of perill (saith the greatest Captaine of the world in his inuuable commentaries) is to work vpon

vpon that forward and stirring humor, which being naturally in all men, is apt to be inflamed with a desire of battle; accordingly to augment that eagernesse, and heat, vpon the instant of encounter: but neuer to repress, or checke it backe in any degree. The fatall error of POMPEI at PHARSALIA. But not of PAVLLINVS heere. For that rule of warre was envred by him to the prooffe; who the more to assure his fierce soldiers, affirmed, *that not onely their fore-fathers, but they themselves also had often overcome many more enemies at a time then these.* A thing which otherwise then by the figure of excellencc can hardly haue any defense: for TACITVS, and the truth are cleare, that *the Britanns were neuer before in so great numbers,* vnlesse it be admitted (which PAVLLINVS also saith) that the women at this field were more then the warlike youth. But that was also another extreame of speech; another (as they call it) *hyperbole.* And thus both hee, and his, provided either for a graue or garland.

§. XXX.

The order of the Britanns battle.

ON the other side, Queene BOADICIA, full of present spirits, and martiall vigour, leads vp her two hundred and thirty thousand men, and forgetting the softnesse of her sexe, performes in person all the duties of a most vigilant and diligent Chiefe. For mounted in an open charriot, with her two orphane daughters before her

in the same, as the objects of compassion, and the motives of wrath and reuenge, shee rides about the *plaine*, and marshalls them to the last man. The nations of BRITAIN, assistants at this need, as they were many and diuers, so each of them was arranged by it selfe in a seuerall battalion, which TACITVS doth not obscurely declare, where hee mentions her accessse to euery of them apart; and ARIOVISTVS, in his array of battle against IVLIVS CÆSAR vsed the same method. So it seems to haue beene a custome in these parts, for the apparent benefit which comes by distinctions of worth, from whence degrees of courage doe manifestly spring. The noble ground of armories. And these were the rowts and troupes, who being ordered in seuerall, are mentioned in TACITVS to haue euery-where vaunted themselues in the face of the ROMANS with so great scorne and iollitie, because of a few smiles of mutable fortune. And surely all sodein prosperitie is for the more part a drunken thing; much harder to carry well then either aduerserity, or a doubtfull state. Happier they whom it ouer-turnes not, then whom it raiseth. It was the BRITANNS bane. The front of her battle extended it selfe to *fiue* or *sixe miles* out, at the least. For *eight* or *nine* thousand onely, with the smallest allowances of distance, take vp alone in one rancke so much ground; not accounting the interualls betweene nation, and nation, by which they were disparted, and designed. This proportion of extension is fully proued out of DIO, who writes in plaine tearmes, that SVETONIUS PAVLLINVS had not so many in his army, as placed man against man, could equall the length in battle-ray, nor the very first rancke of the BRITANNS. Nor seemes it

it doubtfull, that the forme of her battle was semicircular; the dilatation being to affright the ROMANS, and the forme to enclose them. But that speech of DIO's, if taken precisely, and according to the rigour of the letter, is either a confirmation, against my former arguments, that the ROMANS had *tenne thousand* in the field; or that the BRITANNS had about that number in front. These nations had all of them their severall banners, or markes of conduct. For POMPONIVS MELA writes, that the BRITANNS imitated the *Gallicke* fashion in armes; and CÆSAR in his immortal bookes doth say, that CONSIDIVS partly discovered by *their ensignes*, that the GALLS were masters of an hill of advantage. The GALLS had ensignes therefore. But reason, much better then testimonies, convinceth, that this was so among the BRITANNS; because it must of force be so. For where order is, there is also a necessity of directive signes; impossible otherwise to be preserved. What their stuffe, or arguments were, is unknowne. They had their paintings, and lineamentall pursles as is obserued in the *Elements of Armories*. To say, that the figures of a *wolf*, and *greyhound* were among the symbolicall notes of the BRITANNS, because BOADICIA, in her auspiciary oration, may seeme to allude to their bearings, is but to say it onely. And yet the conjecture dislikes mee nor the more, that King HENRIE the Seauenth, who descended of these antient BRITANNS by the fathers side, did aduance the *greyhound* in supporture. Before the head of this huge, and wide-spread battle of the BRITANNS, the chariots of warre were planted, which (as MELA depourtrayes them) had sharpe sithes standing out, wherewith to mowe downe enemies.

Among them the nimblest & the lightest of her people were scatter'd at aduventure: the horse vpon either hand. Against the maine body, or strength of the ROMAN battalia's, BOADICIA did set her cor-flet-men, or such as were whole arm'd. DIO witnesseth their vse at this seruice; and their meanes of furniture came in all probability from the spoyles of the legionaries, who rashly carryed on by PETILIVS CEREALIS, were (as we haue heard before) defeated all of them, and slaine, in the beginnings of this reuolt. Behinde, shee placed the carriages, walling the backe of her battels with waggons, waynes, and carts, where the wiues and women of the BRITANNNS stood lookers-on. And least those impediments might not proue barr enough to their then vnthought-of flight, there grew a wood also next beyond. Thus while vpon vaine assurance they provided to create a spectacle for their women, they emparkt themselues for slaughter, the game, and surfet of the ROMANS; little dreaming that they should become their owne showe. But ouermuch boldnesse is rarely any other then the common for-runner of a downefall. ARIOVISTVS, *Generall of the GERMAN league*, against IVLIVS CÆSAR, had the same kinde of theater, and spectators, and because it was also with the like ill successe, the BOADICIANS lackt not the poore comfort of hauing an example, and parallel; themselues not the first, nor the onely vnluckie that were. Obstinacie on both sides fixed with *trabal* nailes of necessitie; the BRITANNNS to maintaine what they had begunne; the ROMANS to maister their perill, or to die. No possibilitie to hang the quarell euen vpon the weighing beame of iustice and peace. BOADICIA therefore was not more wanting to her peoples

peoples encouragements, then to their disposure for fight. Yet, by some words in the CORNELIAN *Annals*, it may well be gathered, (notwithstanding all her great care and paines in placing them) order was not kept so precisely, as their dangerous estate required: for as well the cauallarie, as the foote, vaunted themselues euery-where in the face of the enemy, flaunting, and brauing about in heaps, and troupes. BOADICIA her selfe deeply tainted with that selfe-flattering pestilence: for from thence it was shee told her armie; *the Romans would neuer stand the ecchoing shorxes of so many scores of thousands, or the bare rustle of their armes, much lesse endure their shooke, and stroakes*: thereupon also she boasted the defeat of PETILIVS CEREALIS, as a patterne of their warlike workman-ship, and the earnest of their lasting good fortune; gloriously affirming; *feare did so benumbe their enemies, that they of them who were absent, coopt themselues vp within camps, and sconces, not daring once to peere out (a thing not vnttrue with PÆNIVS POSTHVMS) and that these very men, whom they had at last wish so much trouble and trauaile found out and overtaken, did not meditate fight, but flight, and how to runne safest away*. Euidēt in her opinion, by the sheltring themselues within those *straights*; the lodgings and dennis of the timerous; not fore-casting, that it might in them be nothing else but a point of warre-craft, to nourish foulest ouerweenings by the greatest show of feare. Her person, conspicuitie, and postures in speaking, added greatly to the life of her words. For riding about from one embattelld nation to another, she turnd her selfe on all sides in her open chariot, roially appointed; presenting her fortunes, and the fortunes of her princely children, who sat with her

her in sight there, as the most liuely meanes for stirring vp extreamest indignation, and reuenge. Malignant humors thus being throughly stirred, and the clowds of defiance impatiently struiuing to emptye themselues in a tempest of blowes, BOADICIA at an instant stricke of all the locks of restraint on her side, by giuing the word, and without God to friend, permits her cause to brute triall.

§. XXXI.

The battle, ouerthrow, and death of Boadicia.

IMmediately hereupon, the BRITANNS raise vniuersall showts, and cries, to affright the ROMANS, and vainely chaunted out aloud their warlike odes, or ditties; which deuised by their Bards, or by each of themselues as his boystrous wit would serue him, were filled with glorious braues, and irefull threats. At the same time also they aduance their battalia's, and continuing their songs, and clamours, make the wide plaines tremble with the stresse, and strength of a generall violent motion; men, horses, chariots, and all sorts of armes & weapons stirring at once, render the noise as of a rough and angrie sea. A stately LACEDÆMONIAN march towards the onset (as SYLBVRGIUS translates the place in DIO) & not an headlong furious; onely somewhat full, and round at the instant it selfe of charging. The first assault therefore was with shrill sounds, and voices, quickly to be damp't, and alaid with the groanes and shrieks of the dying. On the contrary, SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS, percei-

perceiuing his people fiery prompt, hoysed vp aloft at a spears end the publicke signe of battle, which was commonly the Generals purple sur-coat, in the nature of a bloudie banner. And first of all, the R O M A N legionaries, (thoroughly taught to contemne lowd clamours, as a terrible toy) kept close together within the narrow out-let of their ground, atwell to encrease their enemies presumption, as to preuent oppression and circumuention. But when the B R I T A N N S had deliuered their rouing shot, and were aduanced within the reach of milchiefe, the R O M A N S (till that instant hush, and silent, and obseruing faire regularitie) all on a soden ioyne together in a martiall showt at a signe, and most forceably flinging their heavy piles into the thicke of their comming enemies, they presently drevv their swords, and clashing them hard vpon their shields, salty out at once with all the force they could, and dealt their stroakes and thrusts to great aduantage. The C O R N E L I A N *Annals*, where they speake of *the fourteenth* legion at this field, doe not meane by these words, *velut cuneo erupit*, any thing else but a close and ioyned squadron, not the forme of battle, called *pointed*, and which bursting forth with an vnexpected force, had the operation, not the figure of a wedge, or of a long three square, with an obtuse angle forward. All authoritie is against it. Nor onely in this place of the best authors is the Latin word *cuneus* interpreted, and vnderstood so, for T I T V S L I V I V S himselfe doth Latin the M A R T I A N P h a l a u x by the same. At the same time they encountred euery where all ouer. Out flew *the auxiliaries* (among whom, according to C A M D E N, bands of L O N D O N E R S were) and with no lesse brauerie of courage, and with

with as great violence as the legionaries, charged their cruell aduersaries home; the archers vndertook the chariotéers, & their cauallarie attacked the other. The bloudie confusion of this tumult is well set forth by DIO and XIPHILINE: The violent giuing in of the ROMANS vpon the BOADICIAN'S at their sodein rushing forth, did easily rowt, and disorder their rancks, though their files could not choose but be very deepe in regard of their necessitie to contract their length for fighting narrow, which made their vast multitudes rather mischieuous to themselves, and combersome, then vsfull. A maine reason of BOADICIA'S ouerthrow. For the weight and worke of the day was brought hereby to rest but vpon a few; and the ROMANS, (in regard of their discipline, skill, and experience) had extreamely the oddes while they only dealt vpon the euen. Nor had she patience to watch them, nor art to draw them out of their fortifide ground. Venerable *Moderation*, thy coolings how necessary for the ouer-boylings of prosperitie! That defect a common cause of greater fiercenelle then good fortune. And in the case of my dearest country, during this whole warre, there was nothing from first to last so vnfortunately absent. The victory of the ROMANS (as much as out of TACITVS may be gathered) seemes to haue begunne at the corners of horse, who with their armed staues, or lances, charged in flank, and front, and euery where as their enemies came to hand, or were strongest. The fight neuerthelesse continued hot, and doubtfull till the euening, nor was the face thereof simple or vniforme, but diuers. *The light-armed of the one side, lay fiercely at the light-armed of the other; the well-armed oppose their likes; horse encounter horse.*

horse; the Roman archers let flye at the chariots of the Britanns; they againe driue headlong vpon the Romans, and tumble them ouer. But for want of armour, wherewith to mock the shot, they are enforced with the storms of Roman arrowes to fall off againe. The foot trampled vnder-foot by the horse, and the horse beaten back by the foot. Many close together make vp with a ioynt force against the waggons of warr; they on the other side beare many downe before them, and compell others to flye. Here the Archers aduancing ouer-forwardly, beyond the protection of their cauallarie, are glad to saue themselves by flat running away: there, other keep aloofe for feare of the peircing arrowes. These things while they were not acted in one place onely, but in three at once (according to the triple distinction of the Roman host in DIO) the conflict was long maintained on both parts with equall boldnesse, and brauerie. This is the table of the battle, or maine meddlie betweene the BRITANNS and the ROMANS, as it stands drawn with immortall words among the Greekes; which singularly helpe to open the most weighty chronicle of TACITVS; where the acts of this great and bloody businesse are all of them trussed vp together in a lesser roome, then the short contents of a chapter. Briefs in heroicall arguments, as they are the iniurious eclipse of mightie actions, so in all other kindes of learning where they are insisted vpon by truants as principall, they proue to be the very bane it selfe of wits, and studies: On the contrary, whatsoeuer in narrations is for the size thereof about the iust length, doth iustly heare tedious; and whatsoeuer for the nature of it is petite and poore, and beneath the maiestie of storie, is worthely base and odious. In this famous conflict (where the naturall libertie of BRITAIN, and the

title of the empire lay at stake) the ROMANS, by dashing in with the whole breadth of their battalia so violently as they did vpon the enemies, though they draue innumerable of them downe to the earth, tare their rancks in pieces, and stricke those other with amazement, and dismay, whom their weapons could not reach, yet they plunged themselves so farre off withall from their ground, or stand of aduantage, into the depths of the surmounting multitudes, as they were after a sort encloted, and compelled to fight all. In the end notwithstanding (though so late first, that it was at least vpon the setting of the Sunne) the ROMANS were eue-ry where, throughout the field, victorious, while the barbarous finnes of the BRITANNs, committed in the time of their prosperitie, fought not lesse against the guiltie then the armed foe. There is no regard, nor heed to be taken in this place what our domesticke poets faine, in fauour of Queene BOADICIA and her side; as if they were ouercome by the treason of some BRITANN Captaines who reuolted to PAVLLINVS; or the like goodly, or honourable excusals. For they haue no warrantie in vnexceptionable monuments. But after the BRITANNs, in the head of their battle, beganne to shrink, and turne, that alone was a blow to all behinde, who being many scores of thousands, remained vntoucht, during the fight, because they could neuer come vp to handie-stroakes, for want of roome, in the narrowings of the field. So they who first did fall to running away, were among their owne fellows as vnresistable as enemies, while they fearefully sought to open passages for their owne escape, bringing a strong necessitie for all to disband, and scatter, and wholly to relye on flight

flight for present safetie. The Ladie Generall, constrained to obey the authoritie of her disaster, got free out, and fled. But the ROMAN partie most bold in attempting, was also now most nimble in pursuit, making execution of the ouertaken flyers, and slaughter of the very labouring beasts, and cart-horle. Yea, such was their hatred, and heat of reuenge, that their swords made no difference betweene sex and sex, but slew euen the women, who were seated aloft vpon the waines, and carts, as vpon scaffolds, at the backe of their armie, to giue their applause. A most certaine signe of the wrath of God for the punishment of insolencie, and pride, that the councell which the BOADICIANs followed for a supposed triumph, was conuerted to the piteous encrease of their miserie. For the carriages thus planted and possessed, were like a wall against euasion. A vulgar writer, describing the effect of this obstacle, hath prettie smooth verses, wherein he saith, *that the women, who were mounted in that manner to behold who bare himsefse stoutly, and to controll the coward, did now call in vaine vpon their sonnes and husbands to turne the head, for they themselues, together with their sonnes and husbands were mercilesly slaine.* This, and the dead bodies of cattle, did mightily augment the heapes of carcases. They who got past the doleful barricado of the carrs, were furiously followed into *the wood* (which by DIO's description grew beyond) and in no small number perished. Here it is apparent, that the place of the field was betwixt *two woods*, according to my assertion else-where; the one at the backe of PAVLLINVS, the other behinde the BRITANNs carriages. Vnlesse perhaps some would rather haue it vnderstood, that the BRITANNs, thus put to

the sword among the trees, were of those who had runne vp in the rage of charge past the ROMAN squadrons, within their strengths, and so were followed through. Many notwithstanding were saved alivie after there was a glut of blood, and victorie assured. Multitudes also escaped away, either by their speed, their earlie running, or by the benefit of night. These did prepare to re-enforce their troupes, and to put for another day. A lamentable fell of men; almost fourescore thousand cut downe into their graues with the sharpe-edged axe of warre. *There are some (saith TACITVS) who haue deliuered it for truth (and they were but some) that of the Romans there died not full out foure hundred, and, (as once before hath beene occasionally mentioned) not many more then such a number hurt.* For which cause this victorie was markt vp among the famous ones of old, and most worthily might bee so; for, besides the glory of the day, it brought backe BRITAIN to CÆSAR, and fixed it to endure for sundry ages after. They who auoided the violence of this misfortune, while they were in preparation for a new triall, lost their souereigne ladie and mistresse, BOADICIA. Our ENGLISH poets present her, killing her selfe; one of them by falling on her lance, as the most gallant forme in his conceit, another without naming the way, but all with admiration, as of one of the most noble Shee-worthies of the world. TACITVS saith she finished her life by poyson, and DIO and XIPHILINE, by sickness; which admit a reconciliation; she dying by a sickness of poyson. With her departing soule (as if it had beene the soule of the opposition) the flame of warre went out by degrees, and the BOADICIANS, as confessing themselves to be then quite vanquished,

vanquished, and neuer before, shifted each for himselfe and fled. Her death was vehemently lamented of her suruiuing friends, who honoured her funerall with stately rites, and buried her remains ambitiously braue.

§. XXXII.

Of the place of Boadicia's buriall.

THis most great, and noble ladie (the stay and last anchor of her partie) thus deceasing, the fortune of the miserable princeesses, her daughters, lyes vtterly vnknowne. That they also ended their liues, together with their hopes, about the same time, remains therefore probable, because there is not the least inckling left in the world, what afterwards became of them. Concerning the place of her enterrment, it will easily bee collected out of the premisses, vnto what opinion my coniectures doe incline. For without auerring any thing precisely, no other toombe seemes to mee so likely to be hers, as the admirable monument of the stones vpon *SALISBURYE plaine*. The dumb-nelle of it (vnlesse the letters bee worne quite away) speakes; that it was not any worke of the *ROMANS*. For they were wont to make stones vocall by inscriptions. The common opinion, touching that trophea, or whatsoeuer else it may be called, would haue it belieued, that their structure was contriued in memorie of the *BRITAIN* Lords, perfidiously murdered by the *SAXONS* here, vpon an interuiew. Of that hainous assassinate,

nate, NENNIVS hath a touch, but assignes not the place. GEFREY *Arthur*, or *Monmouth*, is the man, who fetcheth theſe marueilous ſtones (reported by him to be medicinall) from out of IRELAND, for the pupoſe of a memoriall, by MERLINS counſell, and force of armes. That STONAGE was a worke of the BRITANNS, the rudeneſſe it ſelfe perſwades. And if that plate of mixt metall (mentioned by CAMDEN) which found about foureſcore yeares ſince neare to that moniment, and inſcribed with ſuch characters as were not legible to the learned of that time, did appertaine to STONE-HENGE, or (as it is more commonly named) STONAGE, then may it eaſily be credited to haue beene ſome old BRITISH inſcription, dedicated to the immortal ſame of ſome or other great Worthie, nor of any rather then in my conceit of the moſt mightie BVNDVCA. To ſtrengthen which diuination, the cleare teſtimonie of DIO, that the BRITANNS enterred her pompouſly, or with much magnificence, cannot be better verified then by aſſigning theſe orderly irregular, and formleſſe vniſorme heapes of maſſiue marble, to her euerlaſting remembrance. The name of *the dance of gyants*, by which it is ſtyled in MONMOUTH, hath nothing alluſiue, no not ſo much as to the tale he tels vs. CAMDEN himſelfe doth bewray, that his iudgement was vnſatisfied touching the reaſon of that moniments erection, notwithstanding all he could finde. The ſtorie of BVNDVCA (then which neither our owne noble countrey, nor the whole globe of earth hath a rarer) was ſo little vnderſtood of MONMOUTH, as it doth not appeare at all, that euer the bare ſound thereof arrived within his hearing. But had the pretious volumns
of

of the CORNELIAN *Annals*, and DIO CASSIUS, and IOHN XIPHILINE, (where her heroicke deedes are vpon record to all posterities) been within the spheare of his studies, not AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS, nor those *four hundred and three-score* noblemen of BRITAIN, murdered in VORTIGERS reigne, should perhaps haue carried away with him the fame of this materiall wonder, but her magnanimous selfe. Higher then to her no bookes doe reach, with any probabilitie of a person more capable of such a testimonie then she, and the profound obliuion which couers the author, and the first intention of rearing them, where now they still defie the weather, doth strongly fortifie my suspicion, that the stones were consecrated to the glory of BVNDVCA, and of her captaines slaine in her quarell, so long time since as NERO CÆSARS dayes, much aboue fifteene hundred yeares. And surely such a calme, and patience of state, followed vnder PETRONIVS TVRPILIANVS, who the next yeare after was sent to take charge of the ROMAN armie in BRITAIN, as successor of SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS, that might well permit such an office to the BRITANNs in her honour, or if those would not, yet other ensuing seasons might; her name for euer glorious among them. The ruins of that old fortresse which suruiuing not farre from *Stonage*, are thought by some, whomsoever, to haue beene a ROMAN worke, afford no cypher for spelling out the founders of this stonie marueil. To grant, that it might be a common monument of the murdered lords, and that AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS, or AMBROSIVS AVRELIANVS, the almost onely BRITANN Prince (saith venerable BEDE) of
RO.

ROMAN race then left aliue, and other BRITISH kings doe slumber there in their ashes, till the resurrection-day, is no hindrance why it might not at first haue beene erected in honour of that most heroicall championesse of BRITAIN, BOADICIA; since DIO and XIPHILINE affirme, they funerally enterred her with *much magnificence*. The bones of men digged vp at times neere this place vnder little banckes, conuince it to haue beene sepulchral; but armours of a large and antique fashion, vpon which the spade, or pickaxe are sometimes said to hit, doe cleare the owners from hauing beene in the number of those BRITANNs, whom pagan HENGIST wickedly slew: for they came not armed, but weaponlesse. They are not the friends of honour, who carrie not a reuerence to the memorials of the noble dead; or contemne antiquities, the rewarde, and records of vertue. My ieaiousie touching the cause of STONAGE, concludes not others freedome to censure what they please.

§. XXXIII.

A recapitulation of the premisses touching the affaires of Britain hitberto.

BEfore IULIUS CÆSAR the ROMANS knew vs not, and he came twice ouer hither in armes, with vnlike succesles; made MANDVBRAIVS king of the TRINOBAVNTS, or of LONDON-land, as his father was; but left not a ROMAN behinde. AVGVSTVS remained exorable to the peace of BRITAIN. TIBERIUS

was no way troublesome. CALIGVLA would haue beene. CLAVDIVS made it his chiefe busi- nesse, arriued, conquered part, and planted R O- MANS, and ciuilitie. NERO CÆSAR hazarded all for want of iustice. The BRITANNNS general- ly discontented, and BVNDVCA (the dowager Queene of king PRASVTAGVS) shamefully wrong- ed, she becomes their captaine, and wrought many wonders, while SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS, (CÆSARS lieuutenant) was busie to winne the ile of MONA for the vles of the R OMAN Empire. Downe went the ROMANS, at CAMALODV- NVN; downe went CAMALODVNVN it selfe; downe went the infanterie of the legion which P E- TILIVS CEREALIS led vp against her; and SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS was himselfe so terrified after his returne from MONA, that he left LONDON to the spoile, which she sackt, and fi- red, and tooke VERVLAMIVN; destroying in these three places vpon the point of fourescore thousand, with a most firme resolution to leaue no- thing R OMAN in BRITAIN, that (according to her words in DIO, to her armie) the example might with the terrour of it, secure succession. And while as yet the tide of her gallantrie was vp, shee pursued SVETONIVS himselfe, as the capitall ob- iect of her quarel, vpon whom the defense of the R OMAN cause relied here. But the wanton, and bloudie abuse of her fortune, pluckt infelicitie vpon her; for while in confidence of a continuall happi- nesse, by reason of her excessiue numbers, shee was ouer-forward to fight, shee encountred him in a set battle (vpon tearmes of great disaduantage, in regard of the place) was discomfited, fled and died. BR I- TAIN hereupon (like a recovered sicke bodie relap-

sing) came backe to former sufferings, and to worser
 farre, till NERO (therein pittiefull) remoued SVE-
 TONIVS, whose implacabilitie (in regard he tooke
 it as his iniurie, that the rebellion hapned during
 his lieutenancie in BRITAIN) endangered the pro-
 uince to a new insurrection: as it was suggested by
 his enemies at court. With the death and buriall of
 BOADICIA, DIO CASSIVS concludes, and
 seals vp the warlike troubles, and all other the
 busineses of our BRITAIN, vnder NERO; and so
 doe also I. There cannot be a fitter stop, nor a fuller.
 For the hither parts of our island were neuer after-
 wards able to come into the like hope of freeing
 themselues (if meere to change lords be to be free)
 because their sinewes, by so dreadfull a defeat, were
 vtterly dissolued. A most weightie point, which
 XIPHILINE out of DIO truely notes. My reca-
 pitulation of premisses (to which seruice this chap-
 ter is singled forth) hath together both example
 and authoritie in LVCIVS FLORVS, and mani-
 fold vses in it selfe; because it is equally good for re-
 membrance, and manuduction, and those *volatil*
 spirits who couet all in a word, need looke no fur-
 ther then so. Neuerthelesse, the true children of hi-
 storically knowledge, who enioy the blisse of studi-
 ous leisure, they certainly, by comparing the riches
 of narrations, deliuered in a iust length, with the
 beggerie of abridgements, will clearely behold the
 notable oddes betweene the one and the other. For
 the spoile, and losse of things left out, or nakedly
 told, can be no way counteruaild with the carcases,
 and stubbs of facts preserued standing in narratorie
 monuments. Lastly, though now and then, and
 throughout this whole historicall webbe of NE-
 RO, there are sundrie doctrines, iudgements, and
 other

other lights sparingly wouen-in of set purpose, which some would shoulder out into marginall spaces, or blanckes at the end; yet this is the way of that excellent maister, and patterne of Historians, POLIBIVS, who speakes interposiue, and in his owne person often. A skill, or cunning, in the noble craft of writing, which most effectually conuicghs the profit of directions with the delight of narrations into the sober reader; and the better withall provides for the lasting of what is good.

§. XXXIIII.

Free thoughts and notes vpon the whole matter of BOADICIA'S action, by way of publick counsell.

SVch was the issue and euent of that great euill which the deepe contempt of NERO primarily caused, as hath already beene fully described. A lesson for soueraigne princes, by iustice, and other the vertues of that superexcellent function, to sustaine themselves from sodein slidings beneath their proper values. On the other side (to take the whole matter into consideration) without measuring BOADICIA'S enterprize by finall successe (for that were not to measure, but to depraue the same) it may worthily appeare, that feminine impotencie of minde was chiefe therein, from the beginning to the ending. For, transported with the desires of reuenge, and soueraigntie, shee neuer indifferently weighed the qualitie, and power of the empire, against which shee vndertooke. A grand, and ruinous error. The ROMANS at this time, had the

lordship of the world by the speciall purpose, and prouision of God. For (as the noble, and eloquent king, AGRIPPA, speakes in IOSEPHVS) it had otherwise beene impossible. The speciall deuotion of their monarkes most remarkeable. AVGVSTVS CÆSAR so religiously reuerent towards that deitie, which was adored in the temple of HIERVSALEM, that he commanded the *first fruits* should be sent from all the parts of his dominions, where the IEWES abode. Nay more; hee founded in that place it selfe, for a daily sacrifice in fire, the perpetuall constant allowance of a *bull*, and *two lambs*, honouring their synagogues, as *the schooles of iustice and temperance*. Aske admired PHILLO an account for what is written here. The same pious institution was not onely continued by his dowager, the emprelle LIVIA, but by her sonne, TIBERIVS, and euen in NERO's dayes. For the reiection of that customarie *holocaust*, by the seditious of HIERVSALEM, was among the causes of the warre which ruind it. So the ROMAN empire did after a sort hold of true God in chiefe, by a kinde of speciall *rent seruice*, and acknowledgement: and as al honour, glory, and power doe properly belong to our Lord, IESVS CHRIST, so euen TIBERIVS CÆSAR (vnder whom it pleased him to suffer) was most forward for his adoration (apparent in TERTVLLIAN) that nothing (hauing the name of God) might among the ROMANS remaine neglected, for feare to endanger their empire, by offending any power diuine. But no man, found in his braine, will exact such a transcendent consideration at BOADICIA's hands. Things subiect to sense shall trye her. The state of the empire, as it was in NERO's time, king AGRIPPA hath described, in that rarest

rarest oration of his, which for the naturall piety,
 wisdome, and weightie worth therof, deserues to
 be written in a table of gold, or rather in the hearts
 of all men, who would not forget their reason,
 while they pretend for libertie. Nineteene legions,
 and aboue foure and twentie cohorts, besides the
 guards of the prince, and the standing warch of
 ROME, (both which together contained about fif-
 teene thousand,) and besides all other forces in
 ITALIE it selfe, and at sea, are particularly there
 found bestowed in the prouinces. These, with their
ordinarie aids, did not amount to so few as two
 hundred thousand in continuall pay and readinesse.
 Of which number eight legions full, and their aux-
 iliaries lay neare at hand vpon the RHENE.
 Of these, certainly, BOADICIA was bound to
 take knowledge, before shee ranne such an hazard
 of her selfe, and countrey. And if her knowledge
 might excusable haue bounded it selfe within the
 walls of BRITANN (as king AGRIPPA termes
 our Ocean) yet the experience of former times would
 haue informed her enough, concerning the RO-
 MANS. But euen that knowledge was manifestly
 corrupted in her, when in her first oration to her ar-
 mie, she doth not obscurely vaunt, that the valour
 of her ancestors had made our seas terrible to IVLI-
 VS CÆSAR, and CALIGVLA, and yet CLAV-
 DIVS, in her owne fresh remembrance, had pas-
 sed them in person, and preuailed. But the carriage
 of some of the ROMANS could not bee endu-
 red: and it is most honest, iust, and noble to dye for
 common good. Therefore MARCVS CICERO
 (of all the gowned ROMANS one of the best pa-
 triots that euer ROME *Etbnick* could boast) ora-
 culously pronounced, that *no worthie man did euer*
foregoe

foregoe his freedome, but together with his life. For what other thing is life it selfe, but a most settred condition of humane being, and after a manner void of vse, or motion, when it onely hangs vpon a tyrants will? In such a case, the choise of dying free vpon defense, is sweeter then to remaine in life a slaue. Hence came her armes, and hopes: which propounded to themselues the making of such an example, as should for euer secure the island from inuasion, and encourage the rest of the world to follow. Most loslie propositions, and which failing, it must needs be neuerthelessse confest that she went vpon highest darings. On the other side, no action can euer attaine true renowne, whereunto reason is forein. For nothing is so peculiar to barbarousnesse as to be ouer-indulgent to passions. And to bee so deceiued with the name, or sound of freedome, (the ordinarie miserie of the common sort) as but meere to proue instrumentall to particular ends, or reuenges, and not to obtaine reliefe, is fit for none of the wise. Then, then should the IEWES haue concurred with one consent to defend their liberties by manhood, when POMPEI first assailed them. So disputes king AGRIPPA. The BRITANNIS in like sort should haue done their vtmost to keepe off the ROMANS, and to empeach their settlings. For, vntill then, that was iust resistance, which seemed afterwards plaine rebellion. The same noble prince (a creature, I confesse, and client of the CÆSARS) could finde no hope of remedy for his wronged countrey men by the sword, no nor by complaining of their oppressour while hee was among them with power. His counsell therefore was, to expect his remoue vpon course, and then to accuse him. The admission, and administration
of

of which most sound aduise would haue preserued their citie and temple entire, whereas the refusall (a manifest operation of the curse of God vpon them for the death of his onely sonne, our Sauour) destroyed them both. BOADICIA had no course so secure as that, if either she her selfe meant to suruiue, or would not cast her countrey into an absolute captiuitie, while she went about to ease it of a partiall. For, with two or three hundred thousand bodies of men, and they of them who were armed, and trained, being neither for discipline, art, or weapons, comparable to the victorious ROMANS, to desie, and assaile the whole empire, was a plaine effect of a womanish furie. ÆGYPT alone, hauing at once within it vnder NERO, seauen millions of people (easily knowne by their *poll-money*) besides the inhabitants of the goodly citie of ALEXANDRIA (which gathered tenne miles in compasse) was neuertheless yoaked downe with onely two ROMAN legions. Yea, the *three hundred and fiftene* feuerall nations of GALLS (next neighbours to our iland) vnder this very emperour were all kept in obedience, with poore *twelue hundred* soldiers, being almost fewer men, then they themselues had cities. Therefore it was not a work of number, for BOADICIA to deliuer the BRITANNS, from NERO, that she might subdue them to her selfe (for that was the end) bnt of vertue, skill and felicitie. Her stout stomacke disdained, or despaired to seeke redresse; which if SVETONIVS PAVLLINVS would not haue afforded, his next successors might. To conclude: had that ladie extended her wrath to none but to the nocent, and rested then vpon her guard, till NERO (who manifestly fauoured the quiet of BRITAIN) had beene aduertised of the causes

causes of her armes, that very middle course it selfe (though middle courses are euermore misliked by the violent) was not without hope, nor reason. For when the FRISIANS in GERMANIE ranne to their swords, for resisting the rapines, and cruelties of OLENNIVS (such another wretch among them, as CATVS DECIVS was here) without exceeding the right of a naturall defense, TIBERIVS CÆSAR stirred not against them at all, but silently permitted them to enioy their owne satisfaction, as if in secret fauour of iustice, and as a sharpe lesſon of modestie to others; though TACITVS assigns another abstruser reason. NERO very likely to haue embraced such an example; if but for his owne more leisure to *sing* and *play*. BOADICIA went vpon higher straines, resolving either for death, or domination. The people in the meane time, doe howsoeuer euery-where smart for the folie of their princes, and their owne. Accordingly, they support her quarrell, without being first sure how themselves should afterwards stand better, when the ROMANS were off; and it was most certaine, that vpon their miscarrying, they must all of them lye at the victors mercie, without so much as the right of an vnattainted subiect, *the priuilege to complaine*, whatsoeuer they suffer more extreame. The case of her ICENI worthily harder then ordinarie, because they had formerly taken armes against OSTORIVS SCAPVLA vnder CLAVDIVS, after that first they had voluntarily entred into the league, and amitie of the ROMANS. Let me speake out cleare, as by way of counsell for the best, and in a common cause. Without some verry speciall feelings, or ends of their owne, few or none of the mightie lead onward to the remoue of
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an euill for common reliefe. Therefore, after B O A-
D I C I A was once enraged, other causes were dili-
gently sought, to drawe and encrease a side, for ena-
bling her particular reuenge: The names of liber-
tie, and reformation are the vsuall mas kes of facti-
on; and libertie it selfe, after a short while is rarely
any-where lesse then vnder the new lords rule.
Things, fit for all times, and nations to consider,
lest too late they finde true; *The, vniustest peace is to
bee preferred before the iustest warr.* B O A D I C I A
notwithstanding liues a name of glory among the
fewest, for the great nobilitie of her pretenses, and
the most roial qualitie of her vndertakings, such as
neuer any lady waged higher.

CHAP. XXVI.

ONE OF THE PRETORS IN ROME
GUILTY OF AN HEYNOUS LIBELL AGAINST
NERO. FREE TOVCHES V P O N
THAT OCCASION, CONCERNING
Libells, AND THEIR Authors.

O Ther sickneses of the time brought forth a
case at R O M E, the next yeare after the trou-
bles in B R I T A I N, which for that it hath
most neare affinitie with the ranck, and odious li-
cenciousnesse of some in our own age, deserues in a
prime degree to be exemplified. A N T I S T I V S S O-
S I A N V S, (who for his birth might haue had better
manners, and for his place ought (as being a magi-
strate of honour, and a senatour) composed in his
owne house a railing inuectiue against N E R O, and
C c divulged

divulged it in anothers. For at a famous supper with OSTORIVS SCAPVLA (the generous sonne of that great OSTORIVS SCAPVLA, who died in BRITAIN) the intemperate gallant, among his bits, and cups, did openly read the defamatorie verses. But the auditorie was not staunch enough: for the same soaking through, arriued soone at CÆSARS eares. The senate was hereupon acquainted with the man and matter, as the proper auengers of their princes iniurie. This ANTISTIVS (take him as he was in himselfe, had nothing of a discreet or honest man; which fully qualified him for the writing of libels. It is worth the labour to scanne him all ouer. Hee was therefore in his first times, a factious friend of immodest, and idle quarrels; euen so farre forth as to engage his magistracies power for their maintenance. For whereas VIBVLLIVS, a graue and honourable officer of state, in the second CONSULS of NERO, by vertue of his pretorship, had cast certaine persons into prison, for seditious partakings about common players (the matter offentimes of much offence) ANTISTIVS attempted to free them by authoritie of his countermand, as he was a tribune of the people of ROME. But VIBVLLIVS carried the cause, and the other the blame, by the voice of the Senate. Afterwards, when himselfe came to be a pretor, and encrease of dignitie should haue encreased his grauitie, he despising his proper happinesse, and station, and madlie supposing that neither any argument, time, nor person was exempted from the licence of his wit (a phrensie of false glory) vndid himselfe, and endangered others. A most headlong medler, apt for mischiefe, and of an iniurious spirit. For the Prince (though being NERO's selfe) was neither
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at the worst, nor had in particular given him any cause of spleene: and CÆSARS reformation could not any way belong to him, who was himselfe so farre out of all good order. They who are cleare ought to be spare in reprovalls; but the foule should euermore be silent. The sentence (that I meane which was executed vpon him for this fact) *tooke his honour, estate, and liberty away.* And of this milder doome, PÆTVS THRASEA (the wonder of his time for morall life) was the leading author. For others *would haue also had him put to death after the most smarting and ignominious manner.* But whom prosperitie made vnreuerent to her blessings, aduersity perhaps recouered to soundnesse and himselfe. Nothing lesse. For in his banishment (that was a branch of the censure) hee bewrayed the truth of a *libellours* nature; playing parts (when hee thought they would serue his turne) most abiect, false, and base. CORNELIVS TACITVS (with a penne which prints deeper then the hottest searing-yrons) hath branded them in vpon him for euer: nor doth that pondrous author temper himselfe from calling him *vile*. Among two-footed beasts, it is hard to say, whither a delator, or a libellour be worst. And it is not an ordinarie infelicitie to bee in company where such mis-behaviours happen. OSTORIVS SCAPVLA therefore (the maister of that vnluckie feast) willing all hee could to preferue that sacred obliuion, vnder which faire conuersation locks vp table-talk, gaue in for euidence, that *hee heard nothing*. And most happie had it beene for that magnanimous, and valiant gentleman, if in the voider the memorie of those heinous lines had beene also corapped-vp. For the libellour should then haue afterwards mist the meanes to ruine him, and

others, by counterfeit friendship, trecherous interception of doubtfull secrets, mischievous pilferie of papers, and their poisonous enforcements. Of all which as ANTISTIVS was most guiltie, so it did consummate his shame. For to the rest of his bad qualities it added the foulest, and the summe of all, that hee was *ingratefull*. Thus much for the person of ANTISTIVS, in whom wee vndoubtedly behold the image of his fellow-libellours, or priuie true speakers of scandalous things against maiestie, with treasonable ends; and not in sorrow for the publicke, or as a friend of vertue. The office of a soveraigne is sacred, his person for his offices sake; and though his vices bee not more exempted from hatred then from view, yet euen the worst would haue them hidden. This accordingly was the endeouour and desire of NERO, who when he was afterwards most infamous, did hope notwithstanding, that what hee did shamefull in the night, the darkenelle of night, in fauour of the proper workes of it self, would fully couer. Therefore, when hee found by the *codicils* of PETRONIVS, that his lasciuious secrets, (which hee till then did suppose lay hidden) were detected; SOSTIA was banisht, as the pipe by which they were conueigh'd from CÆSARS chamber thither. Nor could it but add to the crime of ANTISTIVS, that the seuer PÆTVS THRASEA spake very much honour of NERO, before he deliuered his opinion in abatement of the libellours punishment, and stiled NERO *a right worthy Prince*; for all this while was SENECA about him. It is good for the world, that there should be some sharpe declamers against vices in abstract, or in generall. The defamatorie noting of persons is not to bee permitted, but onely to the magistrate. Take mutuall reueren e

uerence away; and you lift the world from off the hindges. And it was no new provision which the emperours VALENTINIAN, and VALENS ordained, but the interpretation of an old, when they signified by their rescript, that *not onely to compose, and divulge a defamatorie libell, against any honest subiect of the empire, but meerely to publish the contents, though they destroyd the originall, was by them declared felonie.* And truly, if honour bee worthily more pretious then life (the touch whereof, *whether true, or false,* is the common ground of bloudie duells) can there any thing be thought more vniust, then that a scandalous tongue, or stile, should passe with applause against whomsoever, not first condemned by law? The same emperours notwithstanding made it free, by their explanation, for any one who did subscribe his name, and at the perill of his head (for that was the penaltie) stood to maintaine what his tongue and hand had published, should both bee secure, and receiue, with thancks, reward. If therefore the honour of subiects was so tender, what value can be assestled vpon that of soueraigne princes? Yet the Christian moderation of the noble emperours, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, and HONORIVS, is the example of our sacred SOVEREIGN, whose iudgements in their owne case was diuinely high. For thus they said in effect: *That if any blasphemed them (the Apostle vseth that word in matter of maiestie) being led therevnto, either by leuity, or madnesse, and not of malice, it was their pleasures that such a delinquent should not suffer. Reseruing alwayes to themselves the iudgement of the spirit.* ANTISTIVS, among all other his bad desarts, most iustly odious, for that by his vnseasonable ouer-boylings against NERO, the pestiferous extensions

sions of the law of maiestie (so pernicious formerly to all affiance in conuersation, and so calamitous to the noble) began vpon this occasion to bee raised out of the graue againe, to the bane of many worthy Peeres. An act of highest magnanimitie, for a Prince to sit far aboue all maledictions, vnmoued, and not vpon euery reuenge slightly to vncollar indignation. The fault notwithstanding is not the lesse for being left vnpunished; and DAVID forgat not SEMEI. ANTISTIVS a miserable man during life: for as his wilde wit ouerthrew him, so his trecherie stood him in little sted. For hauing exceeded the limits of his banishment, and the SENATE misliking it, MUCIANVS (in VESPASIANs dayes) to appease their lordships, did shut him vp again within his ile; their angry curse vpon him. Such was ANTISTIVS in his manners, and fortunes. His likes deserue to haue a NERO for their prince, and not a most milde king IAMES.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE WORTHIE CARRIAGE OF DOMITIVS CORBVLO, AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.

THe generall body of the ROMAN power moued euerywhere substantially strong, not onely in the westerne world vnder SVETOFIVS PAVLLINVS, but in a leading eminencie vnder CORBVLO against the PARTHIANS, in the quarell of ARMENIA, the possession of which countrey was alike by both affected.

NERO'S

NERO's greatest courage was onely to thinke or talke of making a voiage in person to the CASPIAN passages (a naturall gate in the crowne of mountaines which separate the PARTHIAN, and ARMENIAN territories) but CORBVLO (a seuerer commander, and such as the worke needed) redeemed the ROMAN name from dishonour, which SVETONIVS, the historian, reports to haue beene much greater then it was; for hee absolutely faith, the legions escaped by *forking*. The PARTHIANS had not that aduantage, or vsed it not, for TACITVS affirms it was onely a fame, and it was no more. THEODOSIVS (out of the perished parts of DIO) hath the particular, which though full enough of disparagement, did neuerthelesse not amount to such a CAVDIAN infamie. Thus it was. LVCIVS CÆSENIVS PÆTVS, straightned in RHANDÆA, sought conditions of peace for feare of VOLOGESVS (the PARTHIAN king) and accepted such as were agreed vpon, thereby to saue himselfe, and soldiers. The chiefe points in the composition were: that the ROMANS should quit ARMENIA, and NERO should crowne TIRIDATES (the brother of VOLOGESVS) king thereof. For performance of which (saith THEODOSIVS) oath was giuen. But the valour, wisdom, and singular diligence of CORBVLO repairing all by due degrees, brought great VOLOGESVS himselfe to yeelding termes, and his brother TIRIDATES (whom PLINIE notes for maister ship in magicke) to adore the ROMAN ensignes, and deposit his diadem.

CHAP. XXVIII.

NERO'S FIRST COMMING Vpon THE
COMMON STAGE.

THese seruices of his Lieutenants generall abroad, and in parts so oppositely distant as east, and west, and in the vtmost bounds of the R O M A N empire, towards both those coasts of heauen, gaue N E R O boldnesse to despise all reports of what hee did vile, or beneath the maiestie of CÆSAR, among his owne at home. It was now the tenth yeare of his raigne when first hee came vpon the open stage, not that at R O M E first, but at N A P L E S, meditating a new kinde of triumph, not ouer armed enemies, but ouer rimers, players, minstrels, and the like. As if, to accomplish the glorie of the R O M A N name, any thing was wanting which N E R O could supplie. His ambition was so vehement, and strange in this kinde (as for an honour which he in his ignorance held to be worthie of the lord of the world) that his coigns represent him in the habit of a *cytharist*, or (if our word reach the fulnesse of the sense) an harper.

NERO CÆSAR.

Till now, all his proofes, and eilayes of himselfe were onely in his palaces, or gardens, but, after long practise, presuming he might worthily goe out maister, hee aspired to publicke auditories. These were stronger means to precipitate the People of ROME into old decrepit age, then all the cruelties, and rages of the former times, for they properly tended to effemination, or rather were effeminacies selfe. S. AVGVSTINE notes, that whosoever affects superioritie, and loues not glory, goes beyond beasts both in crueltie, and riot; and hee brings for illustration the example of this NERO; *whose manners were so corrupt, that none (saith that holy Father) would euer surmize that any manly matter was to bee feared or expected at his hands, and yet his acts were so tyrannically sterne, that they who knew him not, would neuer beleue there was any thing womanish in him.* In this vnprincipely ambition his fingers were not to moueable, and swift vpon the strings of the *lyra*, as the gripe of his depraued power was heavy vpon many, whose greater parts hee maliced. This, among his priuado's in court, was knowne to bee so certaine a way of doing mischief, that they shot therewith euen at SENECA himselfe when his partner in authoritie, AFRANIVS BVRRHVS, was now lately dead. For then they accused him in their secret whispers, that hee had a disloyall desire to excell in *eloquence*, and *poesie*; and therefore more often addicted himselfe to the composure of verses, after once he found that CÆSAR tooke delight in them, then at any time euer before. The vanitie, and weakenesse of all created power in court, not more apparent, then miserable, when the foundations thereof are in any the least degree subiect to be sapt, and eaten through. *untill by the meeting endeable*

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CHAP. XXVIII.

NERO'S FIRST COMMING V P O N T H E
C O M M O N S T A G E .

THeſe ſeruices of his Lieutenants generall abroad, and in parts ſo oppoſitely diſtant as eaſt, and weſt, and in the vtmoſt bounds of the R O M A N empire, towards both thoſe coaſts of heauen, gaue N E R O boldneſſe to deſpiſe all reports of what hee did vile, or beneath the maieſtie of CÆSAR, among his owne at home. It was now the tenth yeare of his raigne when firſt hee came vpon the open ſtage, nor that at R O M E firſt, but at N A P L E S, meditating a new kinde of triumph, not ouer armed enemies, but ouer rimers, players, miſtrells, and the like. As if, to accompliſh the glorie of the R O M A N name, any thing was wanting which N E R O could ſupplie. His ambition was ſo vehement, and ſtrange in this kinde (as for an honour which he in his ignorance held to be wortheie of the lord of the world) that his coigns repreſent him in the habit of a *cythariſt*, or (if our word reach the fulneſſe of the ſenſe) an harper.

NERO CÆSAR

Till now, all his proofes, and essayes of himselfe were onely in his palaces, or gardens, but, after long practise, presuming he might worthily goe out maister, hee aspired to publicke auditories. These were stronger means to precipitate the People of ROME into old decrepit age, then all the cruelties, and rages of the former times, for they properly tended to effemination, or rather were effeminacies selfe. S. AVGVSTINE notes, that whosoever affects superioritie, and loues not glory, goes beyond beasts both in crueltie, and riot; and hee brings for illustration the example of this NERO; *whose manners were so corrupt, that none (saith that holy Father) would euer surmize that any manly matter was to bee feared or expected at his hands, and yet his acts were so tyrannically sterne, that they who knew him not, would neuer beleue there was any thing womanish in him.* In this vnprincipely ambition his fingers were not to moueable, and swift vpon the strings of the lyra, as the gripe of his depraued power was heauy vpon many, whose greater parts hee maliced. This, among his priuado's in court, was knowne to bee so certaine a way of doing mischiefe, that they shot therewith euen at SENECA himselfe when his partner in authoritie, AFRANIUS BURRHVS, was now lately dead. For then they accused him in their secret whispers, that hee had a disloyall desire to excell in eloquence, and poesie; and therefore more often addicted himselfe to the compofure of verses, after once he found that CÆSAR tooke delight in them, then at any time euer before. The vanitie, and weakenesse of all created power in court, not more apparent, then miserable, when the foundations thereof are in any the least degree subiect to be sapt, and eaten through with so ridd...

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suggestions, where the prince hath neither forehead, heart, nor braine. NERO vnwillingly brookt any man, who might bee thought to stand in the same line of honour for those faculties, or did not adoringly admire his, esteeming it as his most special glory, and felicitie, that some way or other hee could securely destroy emulators. His seale, where these imaginations are not obscurely profest, G V I L L A V M E *du CHOVL* (counsellour of estate to some of the late French kings) did finde in antique sculpture, and caused it to be cut and printed. G A B R I E L S Y M E O N I also, an Italian author, formerly published the same. Out of whose extant worke it is derued hither into mine. A strange inuention for an imperiall signet. And my memorie fails me, if it be not also in the printed collections of R O M A N seals, imitated out of sundry rings, as they were seuerally set with cornelians, aggats, onycles, and other the cheaper sort of pretious stones, engrauen for the vse of signature.

The argument of this *cachet* (so the French call it) is the famous fable of MARSYAS, who was slayed aliue, for presuming to challenge the harpe of APOLLO into a triall, against the musicke of his pipe. What NERO meant by assuming it, or in what cases hee was accustomed to seale therewith, is meerely matter of coniecture, not of certaintie. For whether it were to terrifie those who durst compare, or contend in skill with him; or to iustifie his most high veneration of musicall *agons*, in regard they were the peculiar glory of so great a deitie as APOLLO, or whither it were that hee arrogantly vsurped a resemblance, or whatsoeuer, my part is sufficiently discharged in hauing deliuered not what I may deuise, but what I finde true.

To please the meaner sort of people was the poore chiefe point of his policie. For in their affections he reposed his statetie, and in their applause his glory. Therefore, to entertaine all their senses with their proper delights, (there being no other way so sure of winning them) he layes hold of their eares with songs and tunes; of their eyes, with public games, and shoues; and finally of the residue of the sine, with the most voluptuous, and impudent permissions of all sorts of gluttonous and venereous excesses in publicke. That banquet, or *Bacchanal*, which SOPHONIVS TIGELLINVS provided in the poole of AGRIPPA, or (as DIO hath the place) in the amphitheater, where nothing was chaste, nothing frugall, nothing honest, hath the fame of the maddest and most wilde of all that euer were in his dayes. Lasciuious naked women, immeasurable cheare, wine, words, and nothing barred, but abstinence or modestie, which though it was the cause why the meeting ended in

quarrels, blowes and bloud, yet this was freedome in their estimation, being indeed nothing else but an ouerflow of authoris'd corruptions and villanies. But some few dayes after the feast, there succeeded an act more prodigious; the coupling of NERO to P Y T H A G O R A S *Doryphorus*, as an husband. CARDAN excuseth him vpon those flatterers, who while they did put him into a frolicke for the honour of the goddesse *ISIS*, perswaded a sacrilege in stead of a ceremonie, and so deceiued him. A fiction, and a toy, but not amisse for the scope of CARDAN'S writing, to vent a wittie wonder of his owne deuising, as if NERO were a Worthie. That most inherent fire of lust, which all religion, and all good lawes striue to quench in the hurtfull heats thereof, by making adulteries, rapes, and vn-naturall violations capitall, and other licentious intemperance shamefully criminall, NERO inflames and enrageth with example & leaue. The destroyer of health and happinesse, nor in any thing so mischieuous to manners as in this his most loathsome, foule, and monstrous practise.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE BURNING OF ROME BY NERO.

THe citie of ROME, filled, and polluted thus, with his incredible vices; behold, as if to purge the same, it sodeinly conceiued fire, and vehemently prospered towards an vniuersall blaze. That NERO was the author of it seemes branded vpon him for a truth, though CORNELIVS

TACI-

TACITVS (whose historicall iustice is admired) reports it as a matter *uncertaine*, because his authors differ among themselves, some affirming, some denying it: and he himselfe doth elsewhere professe, to deliuer nothing for vndoubted veritie, without common consent of good bookes. A rule of narration much more tender, seuerer, and scrupulous, then that often times of his censures. His inward iudgement notwithstanding doth not obscurely incline to the affirmation. I for my part will forbear to deriue vp this most depraued affection of NERO so high, as to his first times; though, among his publicke entertainments of the people, hee presented one of *the gowned playes* of AFRANIVS (or such an one whose argument, and *dramaticall* persons were ROMANS) entituled *The fire*, giuing leaue to the actors, when (according to the plot) the house of the stage was on a flame, to share the gorgeous furnitures among themselves as bootie. And nowfoeuer perhaps hee did not as then reflect vpon the burning of ROME, yet might it afterwards very well seeme a presage thereof, or a modle. Enuie to mankinde, wantonnesse of will, and the absurd desire of glorie, his most inward incentiues to a fact so strange. He pronounced king PRIAMVS an happie man (saith XIPHILINE) because hee beheld *the end of his kingdome and countrey together*. And when in ordinarie discourse one chanced to vter in his hearing, a tragicke Greeke verse, importing, *when I am dead, let the fire take all, or, let the earth and fire be confounded together*, hee presently replide, not when I am dead (quoth he) *but while as yet I am aliue*. Voices, hard to say, out of which of the hels inspired. And here, his desire of conuerting ROME into embers, doth first of all seeme to

to haue kindled. About which worke he neuerthelesse went not so closely, that his guiltinesse did not glimmer through. He abode within his birth-place, ANTIUM. From thence hee slyly lets slip into diuerse parts of ROME, a few odde fellowes, counterfaising druncken (saith DIO) and would doe some other mischiefe, who began the consuming euill. Yea some of NERO's own chamber (as it is in the CÆSARS of credible SVETONIUS) were seene to carrie course flaxe, or toa, and torches about, the meanes of fiery mischiefe, and yet most of those great, and consularie lords, into whose grounds they came, neuer laid hand vpon them. Hee wanted a citie on fire, ouer which to sing the burning of TROY. Thus hee had it. And there is abundantly enough, euen in the CORNELIAN *Annals*, to conuince NERO's conscience of the deed, though their noble author (pursuing his rule of *uncertainty*) euen interprets those very reasons with a temper. Many threatned thicke at such as would haue quencht the flames; others openly hurld firebrands, crying, they knew what they did, or, *there was one who would beare them out*. Besides, hee himselfe did not set forward from ANTIUM to ROME, till the fire had laid hold of that part of his house which ioignd the palace and the gardens of MÆCENAS. Finally, no art, nor bountie of his, could induce the commons to belieue in NERO's innocencie. For, doe what he could, the general perswasion went, that he commanded ROME to bee set on fire. These, and sundry other the like things the CORNELIAN *Annals* affirme. Alone sufficient to proue NERO the principall partie, though all other testimonies (which neuerthelesse speake plainly, and come home to the question) were euerlastingly silent.

§. I.

Of the hugeness, and goodlinesse of NERO'S Rome.

MARBLE ROME (such as AVGVSTVS left it, and specially boasted of) was comprehended within a wall of almost *fourteene* miles in circuit, enlarged afterwards to *fiftie*, vnder the Emperour AVRELIAN, when stone was reputed a part of the empires strength. But, that spacious bodie, and the suburban limbs thereof, might together rather seeme an whole countrey superedified, then onely a citie. For the buildings ran out aboute *thirtie* miles one way, and from the *milliarie* pillar, fixt in the crowne of the ROMAN forum, as a center of measure, a line of seauentie thousand paces would not draw the *prætorian* campe and the furthestmost houses in. PLINIE therefore in his contemplations of the hugeness of ROME, may worthily conclude (as he doth) that no citie vnder heauen could be compared thereunto, the height of the buildings considered with their multitude. ITALIE, (saith the same PLINIE) the foster-childe of all other countreyes, and the same their mother also, selected by powers diuine to make the heauens themselves shine brighter, to unite dispersed common-wealths, to soften their manners, to draw the differing and harsh-sounding languages of so many nations, to a familiar conversation by the interchange of speech, to bestow humanitie vpon human-kinde, and in a word, to make one common countrey for all the people of the world; and soueraigne ROME, a face most faire, and

wor-

worthie to be set on a necke so louely. Her encreases of habitations so manifold, that the *seauen* and *thirty* gates thereof could not let in more; and ROME, for want of roome, did shut out additions in suburbs, which answered in quantie to so many seuerall cities. For to OSTIA (the port of ROME, and mouth of TIBER) the banckes were couered with buildings, twelue miles outright one way. And all but needfull, considering, that by the proportions of LIPSIVS, ROME harboured not fewer then foure or fve millions of people. This moued one of the antient to write (as MARLIANVS voucheth him) that he supposed all ITALIE would in time bee builded ouer, and the bounds of the citie of ROME be the shores of the sea. But the wonder of the seat did not grow from the greatnesse onely, but from the innumerable ornaments of publicke, and priuate workes, erected for vse, delight, and glory, dispersed ouer all the *fourteene* wards, or regions thereof. *Temples, Forums, Libraries, Therms, Aqueducts, Theaters, Amphitheaters, Circi, Porticus, Arches, Columns, Statuas, Palaces,* and the rest, whose bare names scarce remaining, doe fill vp volumns with their inuentaries. Yet their young maister, NERO, thought not such a ROME, either good enough, or braue enough for his abode. For hee was manifestly displeated with the fashion of tenements, as not competently magnificent, nor lesse with the narrowesse and irregular angles of streets, and lanes, such as they rose at aduenture after the first burning of ROME by the GALLS. His owne imperiall court within the walls of ROME, the most goodly part of the whole, did likewise seeme too meane and narrow. No remedy therefore but all must downe; which purpose of his, nor daring to professe,

professe, he meant to father it vpon the casualtie of fire, whereunto it was so often subiect, though nothing so mischieuously as now. For such a course was held, as if there should need no more burnings; one burning to stand for all; and ROME to be her owne no more.

§. II.

The fire, and NERO's triumph ouer it.

THat the fiering of the citie thoroughly was thoroughly studied, may in part appeare by the very place it selfe of the mischiefes originall; which was thickest builded, and vpon the lowest ground. For in old times before, it had been so surrounded with the watric excursions of TIBER, that it conuerted the soile into a rotten moore, good onely for fallowes, and canes to grow vpon: neither was there any ordinarie passage ouer it to mount AVENTINE, but by ferrie. This whole large bottome, or vallie, enclosing the PALATINE hill vpon two sides, towards the west, and south, and called the *Velabrum*, being wonne in time to be firme, was euerywhere now inhabited. Among all the magnificent workes which adorned it, the principall *Circus*, or *Race-yard* was one, being about halfe a mile in length, of an ouall forme, with rowes of seates one aboue the other, competently capable of all the people of ROME (as IUVENAL ouer-reacheth in his *Satyres*) but euen, as sober men write, of at least one hundred, and fiftie thousand spectators, without vnciuill shouldrings. Of this

Circus the whole quarter where it stood was denominated, and in that corner thereof which abutted vpon the PALATINE, and CÆLIAN hils, where the oile-men, and druggers dwelt, the first flames rose, which sailing with no slacke winde, fed vpon the buildings so fast, as if they had beene sensible of CÆSARS allowance. The fiery streames breaking further forth in the aër, ranne speedily through the scaffolds, and timbers of that most goodly worke, full of the vnresistable furie which they found out among those fat and gummie trades. From this leuell or plaine, the combustion mounts with ease, and scales the hils. NERO's owne house, called *The transitorie*, (by reason of the passage ouer the vallie from mount to mount, through a gallerie raised betweene, vpon arches, and pillars) was in the way of the fire; which he willingly suffered to perish, that his losses being mixt with the common, the losses of priuate citizens might appeare the more tollerable, and his malice escape, the rather without marking. From those hils the flames strike downe againe, vpon the inferiour tops of houses, and rage without controll. For least common helpe should preuaile against any single inuasion, the burning blaze was kindled in sundry precincts, and streets at once, making the worke manifold. So while they laboured to quench and stop destruction in one place, new eruptions of fire and flame tooke them off from thence, and did euerywhere frustrate endeauors. Nor was there any surer signe that NERO was come from ANTIVM, then the open assistance giuen towards the consuming of ROME. Other effect his presence had not. Whereas gentle CLAVDIVS CÆSAR (when in his time a mightie fire threatned the citie) issued out in person, brought forth

forth his treasure, and both with voice and bountie encouraged all men to the extinction. A VLVS VITELLIVS, afterwards emperour, a capitall instrument of NERO's in this burning: for his enemies before they murthered him, among all other whatsoever their reproaches and reuilings, added the title of *incendiarie*, which well became his interest in NERO's fauour. But, ouer and aboue all vnderhand kindlers, and boutefeus, the night-watch of the citie, whose dutie most immediately it was, to haue subdued the calamitie by quenching, or pulling downe of houses, did openly cherish it. Nor they alone but the *pretorian* guards also. For I cannot conceiue how DIO should meane any other then the *pretorian*, where he speakes of otherfoldiers besides the *night-watch*. A certaine signe indeed that NERO was come. The citie seemed now (saith XIPHILINE) like a mightie winter-campe, when it is all-ouer full with fires, to warme the armie. But the descriptions which PINDARVS, & VERGIL make of ÆTNA, are in comparison but as of a great chimney on fire. For what was that one barren hill of SICILIA to the most wealthie sea-uen of ROME? The fourtene wards or regions thereof, were not simplie as members of a diuision, but as if the same number of great cities had beene ioyned to constitute one: which while they are not all of them on fire at once, and yet all of them in open danger, the crackling fare of parts did represent to mens mindes the burning of the whole. One of the least mountaines was scarce fully couered with buildings by her founders at first, but the powerfull growth of aboue eight hundred yeares had not onely taken the other fixe hils in, and hidden them with edificatures, but the lowest parts had so

ouertopt them also with magnificent spires, as they could not easily be distinguisht, till this fire deformed the imperiall face thereof, and office afterwards freed the lamentable prospect from rubbish. The winde sitting southerly, and southwesterly, conspired at this time with NERO, and conuerting temples, and tenements into the likenesse of glowing furnaces, carried the lowd flame ouer from the PALATINE hill to mount ÆSQUILINE. The fall of stones, timber, walls, roofes, and whole palaces, assailed and embraced with the fire, not able with their noise to burie the crye and shricks of women and children. Nothing to bee seene but flashes burstting forth out of clowds of smoake, as it were out of ambuscado's. One and the same raging fire becomming funerall and finall to the liues, and fortunes of innumerable thousands. Stealth, force, and rapine the practise of the desperate NERONIANS. Which when it was generally perceiued, and that after many dayes, and nights opposition of the euil, the worke was growne too hot, and too great to bee maistered, few men remained any longer carefull for their particular estate in goods, but lamented the dolefull waste, and downefall of their common countrey. Onely NERO was not dismaid, nor troubled, but highly pleased For, *delighted* (as hee said) *with the goodlinesse of the blaze*, he insulted ouer the publicke woe. Attired therefore in his theatrall habit, with his harpe in his hand, hee ascends (saith SVETONIVS) to the top of MÆCENAS Tower, vpon mount ÆSQUILINE, *whose stately fabricke* (as HORACE describes it) *was a neare neighbour to the loftie clowds*, or, to speake in the language of conuersation, ouerlookt the most part of ROME. BOISSARDVS writes, that it is at this day called

Fronton

Fronton di Nerone, a goodly frontispice. There he feedes himselfe with the sight of infinite burnings, and sings to his harpe *the destruction of TROY*, or rather of *ROME* (as it was plainly there to bee seene, saith *DIO*) and not of *TROY*. Some thinke it was not any thing of *HOMER* or *VERGIL* which he sung, but a poem of his owne, because *SERVIVS HONORATVS*, and, before his time, *IVNIVS IUVENALIS* are witnesses, that *NERO* dealt in verse vpon that argument. For nothing vnder heauen could bee more agreeable to his disposition, then that he should not only set all *ROME* on fire, but euen the whole world it selfe, for giuing the life of exprellion to his conceits, if his power ouer the one had beene equally much as ouer the other. It is not one citie, but all mankind which is in danger, when a *NERO* swayes. That humane nature (howsoever corrupted, or depraued) should possibly haue in it such a thing as hee, is fearefull to consider. Therefore it cannot be lesse then miserable, for any one to bee absolutely left to himselfe, but chiefly for young princes. In this example neuertheless, it doth comfortably well appear, what excellent seruice, religion, and all wise lawes performe to man, by whose restraints the generation of humane monsters is hindred, or their malice qualified. The moral of the fable of *ORPHEVS*, and of his brute audiorie reacheth to that obseruation. Every one hath a tyrant in himselfe: and in most people the vnreasonable part predominates. The contemplation of this fire hath endangered me to a flowd of discourse. *CARDAN* feebly defends the innocencie of *NERO* in this fact, by the huge charge he was at, in the renouation and repaire of buildings. The raging euill contained it selfe

selfe within the walls, which turned the cities seat
 out againe into fields, and countrey; not so fresh as
 at the first. Her antient rudenesse much better then
 vastitie in cinders. ROME, the common home of
 mankind; the storehouse of conquests and spoiles;
 the habitation of the gods of the world; the conflu-
 ent of arts and natures choise; the supream court
 where the pleas of all the earth were held without
 appeale; the center of nations; the head and heart
 of empire; the seat of peace and warre; the mother
 and type of all ciuill maiestie; in her owne dwell-
 ing, and by her owne sonne, was frighted thus out
 of her sacred abode, and scorcht, and miserably
 maimd. The secret name of ROME, VALEN-
 TIA, to the custodie whereof, (as it is in SOLI-
 NVS) the silent goddesse, *Angerona*, was destinated,
 scarce needed euocation by enemies with spells, and
 charmes, as being almost readie to reueale it selfe in
 this agonie, and so to haue dissolued empire. Most
 remarkeable of all; that this fire began vpon the
 same day, vpon which the GALLI SENONES,
 many ages before, had sackt, and fiered it. COR-
 NELIVS TACITVS assignes the time to haue
 beene as vpon the *nineteenth* day of our *Julie*, or the
fourteenth Kalends of August, or so to say, *Septem-*
ber. A manifest errour in chronologie (saith IO-
 SEPH SCALIGER) for it was the *sixteenth* of
 those Kalends, or the *one and twentieth* day of *July*.
 Somewhat more for vs to admire, that there should
 be a concurrence of like infelicities vpon like daies.
 So FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS notes, that HIERV-
 SALEM was taken by TITVS vpon the very selfe
 same day, in which antiently it was captiuated by
 the king of BABILON. The stop of this flaming
 desolation was procured after sixe dayes continuall
 waste

September

waite, not by quenching, but by casting to the earth a great number of houses, ouer whose breach the flames could not stride to the abrupt. The place vpon which those demolisht buildings stood, was afterwards consecrated; as the confessed meanes for preservation of the residue. That most memorable inscription is partly aliue in LIPSIVS, and SCALIGER, and wholly in IANVS GRVTERVS, out of MAZUCHIVS. The same is now in ENGLISH also fully here.

THIS FLOORE, WHICH IS CLOSED WITHIN THIS BOVNDER OF LITTLE HILLS, OBELISKES, AND THE ALTAR SOMEWHAT BENEATH, IS DEDICATED, IN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF A VOW, WHICH BEING VNDER TAKEN BY OCCASION OF FIRE, When the citie burnt for nine dayes in NERO'S times, WAS FOR A LONG WHILE NEGLECTED, AND NOT PERFORMED, AND IS DEDICATED VPON THIS PROVISIO, THAT NO MAN PRESUME TO BVILD AN HOVSE WITHIN THESE LIMITS, OR REMAINES, BARGAINE, OR PLANT A TREE, OR SOW ANY THING, AND THAT THE PRÆTOR, TO WHOSE LOT THE GOVERNEMENT OF THIS REGION SHALL HAPPEN, AND EVERY OTHER MAGISTRATE MAY KNOW, THEY ARE EVERY YERE TO SACRIFICE VPON THE FEAST OF Vulcan, BEING THE TENTH KALENDS OF SEPTEMBER, WITH A calfe, AND A tame boare:

This

This vndisputable euidence testifies vnto vs, that the fire lasted *nine* dayes; and not onely *sixe* (though onely *sixe* were enough to deuoure a mightie cite) as CORNELIVS TACITVS reconciliably reckons. For a second fire, which seemes to haue held so long as to make the *sixe* dayes *nine*, immediately rose out of the *Emilian* gardens, belonging to TIGELLINVS SOPHONIVS. Greatly to the encrease of NERO's infamie. For this was hee, who, with the aduantage of his masters bad propensions, had preuailed in NERO, against all the honest infusions of SENECA, and had vtterly driuen out all his precepts. The corrupter, and deprauator now, and afterwards the betrayer, and abandoner of his Soueraigne. A crime, among some few other, most inexpliable.

§. III.

The worke of the fire in spoile.

TAke now a proportion of the harm done here. Of all the *fourteene* wards or regions of ROME, onely *four* remained entire, *three* burnt to ground, and the other *seauen* most fowly defaced, and halfe conuerted into embers and ashes. Mount PALATINE, one of the *fourteene*, and the plot it selfe where king ROMVLVS auspicated the empire of the world, was laid bare, and waste all ouer. If therefore any such fatall mysterie had couched vpon the place of omen, that the detolation thereof must haue wrought the dissolution of the fortune of ROME, (as in the surreption of the *Palladium*,

Palladium of TROY) the dissolution had undoubtedly followed. For *Roma Quadrata*, and *Sedes Imperij* were in those very words religiously worshipt there, and the temple of *Felicitie* it self escaped not the infelicitie of burning. This region, notwithstanding it was the least of all saving one, contained above two miles in compasse: which being but a third part of the consumings, and but a tenth of the deformations and marrings, what an image and face of destruction, and solitude must needs rise out of the whole together? But that hurt could not be worth the doing for NERO, whereof there could either be a valuation, or an inventarie. The particulars innumerable; the damage inestimable. For giuing the ruine of structures in to the heape as a surplus (because hee neuer meant they should stand) and the vtter waste of riches in plate, coigne, vtensils, and other goods (because they were both valuable and suppliable) there perisht such other things which could neither be restored nor prized. To CORNELIVS TACITVS, SVETONIVS, DIO, and the rest of the old ROMANS, the temples of their gods, excellent maister-pieces, and monuments of their triumphall Worthies, were of that kinde, but that which did not concerne ROME onely, nor those times alone, but all people, and ages, and which for euer perisht in this balefull fire, were antient and vn corrupted volumns stored vp in publicke, and priuate libraries. In those other things it was either profound antiquitie, or reputed sanctitie, which did set vpon them their highest or vtmost value, but in the abolition of the workes of wit, immortalitie it selfe did suffer, and seemes to haue turned mortall. This was incede to destroy old ROME, and the empire also. For while those

noble cabanets, and treasures of memorie remained, the R O M A N Worthies, and their actions would for euer haue beene aboue ground, and suruiued. The soule, the bodie, the fortunes, and all things of man, or belonging to him, haue seuerally their shares in such a priuation, as the bookes consumed did seuerally in their arguments concerne them. And albeit those innumerable thousands, whom either smoake did smother, the weight of ruins crusht, flames burnt to dust, villaines slew, or who desperately threw themselues into the fire, as if the end of all were come, (which D I O testifies many did) and voluntarily perished, were for the present more mist then whatsoeuer else, yet nothing concerned all men and times but those bookes alone. For which and other his famous deeds, the common iustice of the world hath crowned NERO with the proper reward of their merit. His name the euerlasting trampling-stocke, and harred of mankind. These things hapned, C A I V S L E C A N I V S, and M A R C V S L I C I N I V S, Consuls, in the yere from R O M E built eight hundred and seauenteene. Howbeit the mindes and tongues of the people (as if the computation were falsified) ranne wholly vpon a prophesie in S I B Y L L, which threatned a generall perdition vpon the yeere nine hundred. Concerning which I haue long before said sufficiently in AGRIPPINAS murder.

§. IIII.

NERO'S use of the burnings, and destructions of
old ROME.

IN fiersing ROME he burnt in himselfe with a farre worse fire; the absurd desire of a name. His madnesse greater to hope for glory by the doing, then his wickednesse was in the fact. He was therefore so impatiently desirous to see that new town, & palace, actually rise, according to that idea of them which he had drawne to himselfe within his owne imagination, as he could not brooke the orderly taking downe of the old. The top of his ambition, to be thought worthie for such an instauration, to carrie the name. ROME no longer to bee called ROME, but NEROPOLIS, or NERO'S citie. And truely he did so much in that respect, by making faire wide streetes, and building in right lines, with galleries and tarrates before the houses, that SENECA'S TIMAGINES, had he liued now, as vnder AVGVSTVS, would haue had iust cause of new enuie. For nothing vext him when ROME fell on fire (as often times it did) but that the decayes re-edified rose euer much more beauteous, and braue then before their burning. But so farre is HIEROME CARDAN from the right, in coigning to vs an opinion, by way of trifling, as if the money which defraide the charge of these magnificent reparations, had issued out of NERO'S cofers, that in SVETONIUS TRANQVILLVS the contrary is manifestly true. And PAVLVVS ORESIVS testifies,

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that

that he taxed vpon the Senate a yearely paiment of ten millions of *sestertium* towards the expenſe. A ſumme, which, reduced to our account, is hardly comprehenſible within numeration, when euery ſuch million makes vp five and twentie millions of crowns Engliſh. But how ſoeuer that was; his gripes, and drawings for money were ſo ſtrange, and vniuerſall, as if he had ſet ROME on fire for a colour to gather the wealth of the world together, by publicke and priuate robberies. This notwithstanding (as alſo ſome other baſe and horrible acts, which paſſe for NERO's) might properly belong to that trayterous caytiue, TIGELLINVS, who durſt doe ſomething in his maiſters name, which his maiſter NERO neuer either authoriſed, or knew. The CORNELIAN histories auerre it clearly. O faith, at al times needfull, and euer honourable, but in the neare ſeruants of ſoueraigne princes ſo abſolutely requiſite, that where it is wanting, they are not ſervants but ſubuerterſ, & are accordingly to be left ouer to the hangmans mercy. NERO, for certaine, was ſo little an admirer of money, that he held there was no other uſe thereof but profuſion. TIGELLINVS and his complices, ought in my beliefe to vndergoe the infamie of theſe extortiuē courſes. This coigne of NERO's,

in the iudgement of that excellent and famous Spanilh Prælate, ANTONIVS AVGVSTINVS, concerns the house, or palace which NERO CÆSAR raised vpon the ruins of his chiefe citie. Therefore he reades not MAC. for *Macellum* (which doth not onely signifie a flesh-market, or butcherie, but a place where all sorts of food are sold, as PLVTARCH and others doe assure vs) but MAG. for *Magna*, in allusion to this new palace. Howbeit, (saued my reuerence to his learning) DIO forceth mee to dissent, who in expresse words writes, that NERO reared a market-sted, and, for our surer satisfaction, giues vs in Greeke characters, the Latin name, and calls it τὸ μᾶκρον. Besides that, the mansion which NERO created, is no where signally called *Magna*, but *Aurea*, not *the Great*, but *the Golden one*. Sufficient to shew, this coigne was ordained by commandement of the Senate (as the single capitals vpon it, S. and C. doe signifie) to acknowledge him the author of such a munificence. The memoriall thereof belongs to the cirie, not to CÆSARS peculiar dwelling; and the word meant by that literall note, is not *Magna*, but *Macellum*. But how much soeuer NERO added to the outward maiestie, and beautie of ROME, it was thought that in the heats it was farre lesse healthie then before; because the Sunne had more power vpon it, by reason of the greater breadth and directnesse of the streets. Nor did he obtaine to haue ROME called NEROPOLIS as he is said to haue affected.

§. V.

NERO'S new palace, or GOLDEN HOUSE.

HAuing thus destroid olde ROME by burning, he destroid it againe (which you will wonder at) by building. For making vse of the soile, vpon which so many magnificent and goodly fabrickes (publickely consecrated either to religious rites, or to the eternall memorie of noble deedes) where also so many thousands of iles, and other messuages lately stood (the harbours of priuate citizens) he constituted in the roomth of them all, one maine abode for himselfe. The extraordinarie compasse of this place met with such wits as answerably flew out of all compasse, the more fully to figure the same. That libell therefore in verse, which SVETONIVS hath registred in his common places of *the CÆSARS lines* (for so they rather are, then properly histories, whose method is naturall, and continuous, not broaken into dishronicall *species*) tells vs; *all the citie of ROME was now become no more but one house onely*. Yea PLINIE also is more pleased with daintie, and generall notions, then with the solemnitie and particular proprietie of historicall phrased, in describing this monster of a towne-sear. Therefore hee freshly playes the young man againe, and no way inferiour to that *epigrammatist* in excesse of speech, writes; *that all ROME was set within NERO'S house, and that all the lands of some of the old Roman Worthies were not so capacious, and large, as here the cellars onely*. Formes
of

of expression which become a poem singularly well, or a flourishing orator. Theyr ouer common pursuit is in our owne times growne the errour, and vice of wits; among whom nothing now hath taste, but (as they are called) *sine concepis*: The bane of all solid elequence, and more of solid studies. NERO loathed his former palace, *The transitorie*, as too small and meane, and therefore founded this other, which comprehended that as a parcell, naming it, altogether, *The golden house*. The hugeness better to be conceived by the rule of proportion in the art of building (as the stature of HERCULES was found by the measure of his foot) then by imaginatiue *hyperboles*, which leaue no certainty, nor draw any lines of truth within the vnderstanding. Euery iust part discouers the iust totall. This court imperiall therefore, had a porch, or entrance, so exceedingly wide, and receiptfull, that the more then gyantlike image of NERO, one hundred and twentie foot high, was eleuated within it. And SVETONIUS further specifies vnto vs, for the clearer declaration of the spacioufnesse, that it had *porticus triplices milliarias*. By which words, though no man (whom I can finde) doth directly know what is meant, yet they represent to the minde a wonderfull largenes. I could suppose their sense to be, that three parts or sides of a square, from the porch to the first front, or from the house backward, were deckt with walkes or galleries, hauing in all a thousand pillars. These, together with their equall distances, which could not bee lesse in art then the length of their owne shafts, must needs take vp a mighty compasse. This image of NERO, made by ZENODORVS, in emulation of the *Colossus of the Sunne*, at RHODES, betweene whose ouerstriding

striding legges ships entred the port, seemes also to haue admitted vnder it all sorts of things and people here. A particular storie belongs to this wonder of statuarie worke. For afterwards when NERO's vile deedes were publickely damned, the head was remoued, and in place thereof (saith PVBIVS VICTOR) the head of the Sunne, with a glorie of seauen golden beames about it, euery beame seauen foot and an halfe in length, some say aboue twentie foot (which is more probable, because more proportionable) was fixt and dedicated. The like COLOSSVS painted vpon linnen cloth (an inuention till then vnkowne) resembling NERO at the proportion of one hundred and twentie foot long, when it was now finished in the LAMIAN gardens, both the monstrous picture, & the gardens themselues were consumed (saith PLINIE) with lightning. But the maruel of NERO's house consisted not in the magnitude only, but in the materials, appurtenances, & workemanship. Nor principally in them. For iuorie, pearle, & gold, were growne stale, because they were common ornaments. But the chiefe wonder of the inuention sprung meerely from desolation. For he laid rogether great depopulated places, turning them into woods, gardens, wildernesses, lakes, fields, and vineyards, most curiously adorned with architecture. Things of much more need, and value there then metall and gemmes. No man therefore ought extreemely to admire, that the epigram in SVETONIVS cryes out, that CÆSAR *did thrust so much of ROME forth of the native seat thereof, as if the inhabitants must haue beene enforced to remoue to the VENI*, almost twentie miles off, and euery way round as farre. Wilde wayes of description, which in right historie are little better then odious, they are

are so wandering and so generall, creating no constant or circumscribable image in the minde of the reader. The reall course of giuing satisfaction, would haue told vs in plaine tearmes, what quantitie of ground *the golden house* and habitation tooke, and what was the frame and face thereof in the most singular parts. I may briefly afford some more certaine light to this admirable argument. The PALATINE, and ÆSQUILINE hills, which lay towards the north of the world, were the only places of which he made most vse for his new affected abode. Mount PALATINE (*the X. ward or region of ROME*) comprehended (according to ONUPHRIUS and others) XI. M. D C. foot about. In which there were VII. maine streets; XXVI. temples and chappels, great and small; antient guildes, or common halls, IIII. the PALATINE bathes; priuate baines XV. ii. publicke libraries; corne-mills XII. garneres XVI. palaces, or princely, and great mens houses, CXC. (among which, was that of SENECA'S) and MDC. iles; or messuages (for that is here meant by iles) which trought not one the other: besides BACCHVS meadow; the groue of the faeries; open places; colosjes; arches triumphall; altars; and many other most famous things. Officers in ordinarie for gouernement of the ward: masters, XXVIII. curators, and bedles (or denunciators) a like number, of each a paire. Mount ÆSQUILINE (or the V. ward or region of ROME) together with the tower of MÆCENAS, and VIMINAL hill, was bounded within the measure of XV. M. DCCCCL. foot; contained XV. maine streets; the temple of all the gods (PANTHEON) and about XXX. other temples, and chappels great and small; VIII. consecrated groues; II. fields; the Prætorian campe; great hot bathes, II. priuate baines, LXXV. curious

fountaines, and conductes aboue CXXC. garners, XXIII. corne-mills XXII. palaces, or renowned mens houses, CLXXX. and in them the poet VERGILS; iles, MMDCCCL. besides an amphitheater, a circus; a parke, most famous gardens; and besides alother memorable obiects of sight. Officers in ordinarie: maisters LX. ouerseers or curators, II. bedles, or denunciators, as many. Here also, VII. cohorts, or MMM. and D. soldiers, part of the cities watch, had their quarter, or station. This table will at once set before our eyes both the fierie spoile, and the scope reserved by NERO. His phancies accomplished; he came to warme or dedicate his golden house (though DIO PRYSIAS thinks his own natieue tenement truely golden, and NERO's but onely in name) and vpon beholding it at full, approued the some thus farre, *that now at last hee beganne to dwell like a man.* A noble speech for certaine, and which might well haue come from CÆSAR; the speaker not considered. To assure the continuance, he vainely included the temple of FORTVNE, which builded all of a transparent stone, called *phengit*, was internally as bright as day by selfe-reflections. Howbeit hee did not so finish his golden mansion, but that the very first bill which OTHO Cesar afterwards signed, was a warrant to the treasurer to issue out a cleauen hundred and fiftiethousand crownes for ending it. The true space of this vturped habitation is certainly mis-reported; the flashes of *hyperboles* abusing our senses. It was not a mile forth-right, in the opinion of that right learned, and worthie man, LÆVINVS TORRENTIVS. For my part, I could thinke the same, considering what VALERIVS MARTIALIS testifies of some particulars, so short a while after, as in DOMITIANS dayes, who had his turne of empire within

within thirteene or fourteene yeares from NERO. And yet that maister-poet runs on in the vaine of the rest, *as if in the whole citie there stood but one house*: the figure of amplification was generally so rife. In it appeares, that where NERO's poole or pond was, which (by the report of SVETONIVS) being like a sea for the bignesse, and enuironed with buildings like cities (O vast excesse of words) DOMITIAN had made firme ground, and raised his amphitheater vpon it. Out of this I am satisfied that the water which is in SVETONIVS as great as a sea, might be about some hundred and fiftie yards ouer. The epigram is extant, and toucheth many other points of this argument, but this one aboue all, that DOMITIAN vndid what NERO wrought, and laid open his iniurious encroachments, restoring ROME to her selfe, and one mans delights to all mens benefits. Wisedome builds sure, because it chooseth the heart of man for a foundation; but what a NERO raiseth, a DOMITIAN ouerthrowes, and one malignant tyrant, destroyes the others doings; as when the plague remoues a feuer. Nothing stands bold which hath not vertue for the basis, but in stead thereof, vaine-glory and wrong. The burning of ROME, and NERO's buildings, are subiects of speech so full of amazement, and admirable odnesse, as may worthily warrant my plenty, seeing they well deserue a great deale more.

CHAP. XXX.

THE CHRISTIANS PERSECUTED
BY NERO, AS THE BURNERS
OF ROME.

NERO hauing thus plaid with the ruins of the sacred seat, and with the euils of his nation, and in the practise of such tragicall reuells, going farre beyond the malice, and darings of enemies, hee neuerthelesse inuented a way how to excell euen himselfe in wickednesse, by raising the first great *Persecution* against CHRISTIANS, as incendiaries. For when hee found, that neither his innumerable offices, or diligent offers at affording comforts, could deliuer him from the suspition of the fact; in the necessitie of accusing some, hee apprehended those innocent men, as guiltie, whose free confession of their faith was interpreted a full conuiction of the objected crime. Such prejudices reigned then against religion. There was at that present a flourishing Church of *Christians* in ROME, euen before Saint PAULS arriual. NERO'S owne court was secretly garnisht, and enriched with some of those diamonds, whose salutations the *Apostle* remembers in his epistle to the PHILIPPIANS. The bad man therefore wanted no matter for his sauage fraud to worke vpon, which he fulfilled so industriously, that they who abhorred *Christians* for their religion, commiserated their punishments as vnderferued; and NERO, while with their blood hee sought to quench and couer his

his infamy, heaped vpon himselfe new enuie. Some (saith TACITVS) being cased in the skins of wilde beasts, were wurried to death with dogs, some were crucified, and others burnt in publicke, to furnish the euening with bonafires. The martyr, like the staffe of a torch, was packt vp within papers, stifened in molten waxe, and other kindling stuffe, with a coat of sear-cloth about his body bound vp right to an axeltree: which being altogether pitcht in a sandy furrow, were so set on fire at the bottome with bauins, or drie seare twigs, (which the LATINS call *Sarmenta*) to maintaine light for NERO's night-sports in his gardens, vpon which occasion CHRISTIANS were by-named *Sarmentarians*. Some of them were gored in length vpon stakes (saith IUVENAL, for of them hee meanes) the one end fastned in the earth, the other comming forth at the mouth. Here those new combats, crownes and triumphs were dedicated by the tyrant, which preuailed to eternitie, and mounted in time the crosse of CHRIST aboue all the arches, and tropheas of the empire. Nor did this *Persecution* rage in ROME alone. For OROSIVS saith it was generall. The credit of which affirmation is singularly vpholden by a most notable inscription, found among certaine ruins in PORTVGAL, and extant in GRVTERVS, which pretendeth thankfulnessse to NERO; first for purging the prouince from strong thieues, and then againe (as he was *Chiefe Priest*) from those other who sought to inculcate to mankind A NEW SUPERSTITION. None wil doubt those words to be meant of CHRISTIANITIE, who are but meanely acquainted with the stile of those times among the ETHNICKS; that being the phrase it selfe of TACITVS, and TRANQVILLVS. The famous inscription followeth.

NE-

NERONI. CL. CAIS.
AVG. PONT. MAX.

O B. P R O V I N C. L A T R O N I B.
E T. H I S. Q V I N O V A M.
G E N E R I. H V M. S V P E R -
S T I T I O N. I N C V L C A B.

P V R G A T A M.

This monument is doubly glorious to the Saints of that age, because it both couples robbers, and them together (for vniust contumelie encreaseth dignitie) and because of the euidence which it giues of a more then particular *agon*. Most happy, O, and most heauenly soules, whom diuine election marshal'd in the front of that battle, and the like grace enabled to reach to the garlands which shall neuer vade, and to weare them triumphant in glory, the starres themselues farre vnder. It could bee no ordinarie goodnesse (saith acute TERTVLLIAN) which NERO condemned, and we glory on behalfe of our sufferings, that they had such a dedicator as he. This was the first great *Persecution*, which like a blatt did spread the religion it blew. No excellencie hath foundation in delicacie, whatsoeuer is soft and tender, neuer attaines to depth, or diuturnitie. Rough, and manly are the onely fit beginnings of things ordained to endure. The originall power of the ROMANS had no other soueraigne properties but these: for such was their founder, ROMVLVS.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

PISO'S CONSPIRACIE AGAINST
NERO.

GOd and all good men offended, the many yeares patience of ROME at NERO'S licence, turned it selfe at length (as it commonly hapneth) into cogitations how to free the world from so prophane, and dire an euill. PISO, a most popular great lord, was the top in this work, as designed by the conspirators to succeed, when NERO was deposed and kild. Yet PISO, hauing him open vnder PISO'S owne rooffe, and power thereby to destroy him at pleasure, pretended a religious horroure against it: as if the breach of the lawes of priuate hospitalitie had beene fowler, then the breach of faith, and loialtie. A coulourable scruple. For the truth was, their numbers were so great who were ignorant of the treason, and would hold the murder of a prince (how wicked soeuer) a detestable fact (saith TACITVS) that hee dreaded least LVCIVS SILANVS (one more great then PISO) making vse of their forces, would inuade the empire, and frustrate his hopes, had the plot beene executed at the BAIÆ, as the rest of the conspirators desired, whither NERO came vpon trust (laying state aside) to feast, and reuell in priuate. Looke vpon the motiues of this knot, as TACITVS himselfe hath assigned them, and particular aims will be found the principall ingredient, how much soeuer the publicke good was pretended: as in such cases

cases when is it not? Hee liues not in the world, who wisheth well to mankinde, and would haue a NERO liue: and he on the other side is passionately transported, who looks more vpon change, then scope; and what they would moue from, and not whither they would moue. This conspiracie should be vnremembred here, because it was onely a preuented purpose, not an act, had it not swallowed vp ANNÆVS SENECA (NERO's maister) and ANNÆVS LVCANVS, the poet (SENECA's brothers sonne) two, aboue all other of their times, the most renowned in their seuerall wayes of learning. LVCAN was so farre guiltie as priuitie, approuall, and vehement encouragements in priuate (as it is in CASAVBONS SVETONIVS) but SENECA (saith DIO) was a principall, and PISO (saith TACITVS) was onely vsed (as it was thought) for a stale: the Philosopher himselfe the man intended for the succession. Happie ROME if the change had been for that! There had beene a iealous eye cast vpon that PISO, some two or three yeares before; and SENECA, euen then, was accused of society with him: which so vnited their cases, that SENECA profest, *his safetie depended vpon PISOS*. The CORNELIAN *Annals* are cleare for the age of this plot; and PLINIE left it written, that PISO (for framing a title to the empire) should haue married ANTONIA, the daughter of CLAVDIVS CÆSAR. But this was the way, by which SENECA prouided as for his owne safetie against his danger by NERO; and for declaring himselfe innocent of his scholars iniquities.

CHAP. XXXII.

OF SENECA, AND LVCAN, TWO OF
THE CONSPIRATORS.

DIO CASSIUS (in CASAVBONS opinion the most accurate Historian) is suspected of partiality against SENECA, by LIPSIVS, and DELRIO. On the other side, it is not impossible but that as he was of a most honourable degree in commonweale, hauing beene companion in Consulship with his owne emperour, so also, that like a learned, wise, and honest man, sincerely delighting in the harmonie, which words, and deeds produce when they agree, and detesting the contrarie, hee forbare not corruptly, in fauour of excellent wit, or of excellently wittie seemings, to vtter what he found of SENECA'S manners, and carriage, as in dutie, and allegiance to the Muse and law of historie, though it derogated neuer so much from the credit of SENECA. Actions of life (to whose description an historians penne is inunctiue-ly tied) are of all other in the world, the most apparently legible, and transparently intelligible booke, in which to behold any person, according to the truth of his qualities, distinctly, and dispersonated. And although it may concerne mankind, that the good which comes by the writings of any great author, should not be empaiied by the contradietion of his deedes, yet there belongs no such priuilege to words, that for their sakes the report of

Hh

facts

facts should be falsified, or (which amounts to a forgerie) that a part of the truth should be withdrawn, or smothered. The sacred condition of soueraigne maiestie cannot exempt either kings or *Cæsars* from the display of their vices of life, or errours of rule, when they come vnder an account for them at the tribunall of historie. Now, that the maiestie of those noble studies which can giue immortalitie of fame among mortals, should conferre a more exemption vpon their professours, is not reasonable. DIO chargeth him with many pointes in practise of things contradictorie to his doctrines, as with *auarice*, with *incontinencie*, with *flatterie*. That in onely the first foure yeares vnder NERO, hee had gathered an estate of money of fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, is neither an argument that hee was couetous, nor a matter of wonder in it selfe, considering his place; and it were to be wisht that all the money of the world were at wise mens dispose. And NERO's replie to SENECA, when he offered to quit his fortunes, was full of most princely sense; for in sted of accepting that offer, hee professed to be so farre from repining at his riches, that *hee was ashamed to see some freed-men more wealthie then his master*. As for *incontinencie*, for which he was both accused vnder CLAVDIUS, by PVBLIVS SVILIVS, and banished also, the same SVILIVS affirmed vnder NERO, that SENECA was most iustly sentenced for defiling the house of the CÆSARS, meaning the person of the ladie IVLIA, the daughter of GERMANICVS, and SVILIVS (not without SENECA'S enuie) was therefore sent vnder NERO into exile, in extreame old age, as a calumniator. As for *flatterie*, it is plaine that DIO doth not wrong him, for hee courted AGRIPPINA'S fauour,

fauour, and the fauour of freed-men, and streamed
 so farre out in the praises of POLYBIUS, one of
 the freed-men of CLAVDIVS, that LIPSIVS
 is himselfe ashamed of it, and plainly confesseth, that
 he was an enemy of SENECA'S glory, who pub-
 lished that *Consolation* to POLYBIUS. Which
 sounds, as if LIPSIVS would haue SENECA'S
 honour remaine entire, though it were against that
 wholenesse of truth which the lawes of historie doe
 exact, no lesse against the best wits, then against
 the greatest kings. That noble DIO (for hee onely
 reports what he found, and is not found to haue
 fained any thing) hath written how SENECA'S vsu-
 ries in BRITAIN, were a cause of the terrible rebel-
 lion there, by calling in his moneyes too sodeinly,
 is a particular which wants not ground of credit by
 that which SVILIVS vrgeth in TACITVS a-
 gainst SENECA. Of his hauings, there is most am-
 ple testimonie; of his giuings none at all. Some haue
 reputed him a *Christian*, but TERTVLLIAN hath
 all in a word, **HEE IS OFTEN OVR.**
 They are in an errour (as DELRIO truely thinkes)
 who father more goodnesse vpon him then so. His
 extant writings make TERTVLLIAN'S censure
 of him true, and his last words (repeated by TACI-
 TVS) ending in a friuolous ceremonie to IVPITER,
 conclude on behalfe of paganisme. Saint AVGV-
 STINE saith no more, but that SENECA was
perhaps a friend to *Christianitie*. They therefore,
 who with LVDOVICVS *Vives* would haue SE-
 NECA'S labouring to NERO for leaue of with-
 drawing himselfe from ROME, vpon the *Persecuti-*
on (as he seriously did) to be a signe of more then
 so, goe too farre. And if other arguments were wan-
 ting, this one alone might serue in stead of a multi-
 tude,

tude, that hee had not the right spirit, who (besides the doctrine of *selfe-murther*, by him commended) would meddle in the violent deposing of his soueraigne Lord. A certaine signe that he profited little in his supposed familiaritie with *Saint PAVL*, who in these very times of *NERO*, and to these very *ROMANS* taught quite the contrary, as also blessed *PETER*. As for *LVCAN* (the other of those two famous writers) whose mortall quarell to his prince was nothing else but an indignitie, forsooth, offered about verses, he stirred not so hotly among the complices for incensing hatred, as hee coldly suncke at his arrest, into ignoble feeblenesse. For it wrought so farre vpon him, that in vnworthie hope to make amends for not disclosing the treason sooner, and to winne compassion from a paricidiall prince by endeauouring to imitate his impiety, the miserable man appeached apace, and among all others his innocent mother, *ATTILLA*. This shrillest trumpet of popular paritie, and the boldest decryer of monarckie, brought to test in his own person, quales in courage, as if at last hee felt in soule the horror of vnder-valuing princely maiestie, in whomsoever resistant, and therefore toucht with the sense of sacriledge, hee ceased to maintaine any stiffness against the conscience of it. Wit and manners are ouer-often diuided. Most happy they when ioyned. To be an excellent maister in any kinde, and a worthie constant man are two. Nor is this any secret, or scandalous wonder at all, considering how grace and nature (the fountaines of those diuersities) are frequently found seuerall. Enough it is, that *NERO* reapes no benefit by *LVCANS* immoderate praises, in the addresse of his *PHARSALIA*. For *NERO*'s fame is not the fairer thereby, and the
verses

veries (full of their makers admirable fire) shall warme the vnderstanding reader, while LATIN, and the world endures. LVCAN, otherwise a blab by descent; for his father before him, ANNÆVS MELLA, bevvraid a conspiracie against CALIGVLA (saith TACITVS) and was therefore himselfe the lesse pittied when hee fell vnder NERO. I returne to the conspiracie.

CHAP. XXXIII.

MORE, TOVCHING PISO'S
CONSPIRACIE.

THe conspirators with PISO were many, and many of prime qualitie, FENNIVS RVFVS (*Presect of the Prætorium*, ioinctly with TIGELLINVS) and the vnthankfull PLAVTIVS LATERANVS, NERO'S bounden beneficiarie, the designed *Consul*, two of them. But SENECA alone was a mightie part of NERO'S danger, who besides his priuate riches in lands, and treasure, and besides his *Præture*, had the honour also of *Consulship*, which he bare in extraordinarie, and susectiue-ly, together with TREBELLIVS MAXIMVS, as MARTINVS DELRIO authentically prooues. Adde to this the matchlesse fame of his wit, and worth, and the taste hee had giuen of the felicities, which the common weale enioy'd, during his sway in Court. The meeting of the conspirators, to prepare for the action, was in an old Temple of the Sunne; therefore when the businesse was accidentally detected, the first honour in the publicke thanks,

thanks, was ascribed to his golden godhead. After detection, and condemnation, SENECA (the vn-
cle of LVCAN, by the fathers side) died first of the
two. But while CORNELIVS TACITVS vnfor-
tunately neglected to preferue the last diuine dictats
of that expiring Worthie, because they were in eue-
ry mans hands, they are irrecoverably lost, and sup-
posititiously to reuiue them were no common inso-
lencie. LVCAN expired in the reherfall of some of
his owne verses, which what they were, LIPSI-
VS better notes then VERTRANIVS. The man-
ner of death was the same to both: for they opened
their vaines, and bled themselues drye in warme
water. Multitudes perished by occasion of this trea-
son, but PISO (the chiefe therein) nothing braue-
ly; nor did any one of the conscious speake neare to
the height of such a daring as the killing of a tyrant,
but onely SVBRIVS FLAVIVS, a tribune of *Præ-*
torian soldiers, and SVLPICIVS A FER, a centu-
rion: for when NERO demanded of the tribune,
why contrary to his oath, and dutie, he made one a-
gainst him, his answer was: *Because* (quoth hee)
I hated thee: and yet there was not one in thine ar-
mies more loiall then my selfe, all the while thou didst
deserue loue, but after thou hadst murdered thy mo-
ther, and wife, and badst turned chariotéer, stage-
playér, and boutefeu, I could no longer endure thee.
SVLPICIVS the second example of constancie (as
TACITVS calls him) to the like question, returnd
this blunt satisfaction; *Because* (quoth hee) *there was*
no other way to helpe thee, but to rid thee out of the
world. SVETONIVS, and XIPHILINE out of
DIO, celebrate these rough fellowes as well as TA-
CITVS, who to show, that both sexes concurred to
NERO's destruction, tells vs, that EPICCHARIS,

a meane woman, but a maine embroiler, equall'd the popular glory of those words, by saying nothing; for tortures could worne no secrets out of her, and to make sure from being conquered with further paine, she found meanes by strangling her selfe, to stop the passage of vocall discoueries. NERO, for iustification of his proceedings against the conspirators, called a SENATE, and in a speech to the *Conscript Fathers*, laid open the cause. To leaue the people satisfied, he also published an edict, annexing thereunto the testimonies of witnesses, and the confessions of the condemned persons. A truth of that nature was not hard to proue, for the designe of his depofure, and death was euident, and all lawes warranted his right reuenge. But his amendment which had beene the greater satisfaction, and the surest way to his future safetie, was so little meditated on his part, that he could not thinke it needfull. The attempt had pernicious effects: for from hence his iealousie and hatred of the SENATE (as the secret well-willers of his ruine) sprung, and hee himselfe neuer after spared to spill any blood, the countenance of this one reall plot, so serued his turne to warrant him against the innocent. The fruit and vse to him of his escape. Neither was this all; for when in preuention of his possible danger, hee had topt the prime eminencies of the empire, his warinesse (rising out of this discouered danger) made him inaccessible to the like, no man being suffered to approach his person, either weaponed, or vnsearched.

CHAP. XXXIII.

OF TYRANTS, AND TREASON, BY
OCCASION OF THIS CONSPIRA-
CIE AGAINST NERO.

THEY may be thought insensible of common, and naturall freedome (the life it selfe of all honestie and noblenesse) who should but thinke towards the impunitie of such a man as NERO; and it sounds both harsh and dull to propose the counsell of such a patience. For it will vndoubtedly be askt, what shall become of legall liberty, and acts of goodnesse, if, according to all the old schooles of the ETHNICKS, it shall not bee held a most faire, and honourable deed to take away the life of a tyrant? To this I answer; they know not what liberty, and goodnesse meane, who thinke those habits are subiect to outward force: for none are free but the wise, and none are wise but the good. As for the generall weale of the world (the highest and most considerable point vpon the whole matter) the author of all power, will certainly prouide, that the abuse of *fiduciarie* power (and there is none other vpon earth) shall neuer passe vnpunished. Neither doth it; for euery Tyrant liues tormented within himselfe, vnder the scourge, and knife of his inward feelings, and outward feares; which no man better describes then TACITVS. A man so zealous for *Tyrannicides*, that hee calls it a most goodly and most honourable minde in SVBRIVS FLAVIVS, when hee was stirred vp within

within himselfe to assassinate NERO; and speakes of it as of a thing excellently glorious. But wherefore this? For when was it seene, that the heavy hand of God did not finally infelicitate a tyrant? For CORNELIUS SYLLA (who durst enstyle himselfe, THE HAPPIE) died miserably of the *Lowzies*. Euen the sweet *Muses* themselues were most luckily prelerued by the fall of two such professors as SENECA, and LYCAN, from the odious brand of being bloudely dangerous in state. For what hath the dignitie of measure, or the innocencie of liberall letters to doe with a tiue mischiefes? There is in all generous natures a rising against great mens violences, and who is hee that can resist the first heats, and boilings of indignation, or would not wish reuenge? But they who account it liberty to obey such vncorrected rulers, doe serue but vnruely maisters, and rarely sit downe without repentance, if perhaps they perish not before. For what else made NERO himselfe miserable, but the wilde, and vndistinguisht pursuit of appetites? Or what turned him out of a prince, into a tyrant, but captiuitie to passions? No man becomes miserable but by such subiection. Tyrants, (and what a kinde of creature a tyrant is, I haue toucht before) are the worst of all wilde broods. Wolues, and beares, in regard of them, are meeke and tractable. They therefore are the speciall beasts of chase for celestially vengeance, in the Forrest of the world; and when they fall, it is a fauour from aboue; if worse come not after. The pertense of all conspiracie, is the remoue of a tyrant, as an intollerable euill to the publicke, but the life euen of a good Prince, is thereby vnassured. For hee whomsoever conspirators kill, shall as well be published a *Tyrant*, or *Vnapt*, as the

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worst

worst of the NERO's. The safeguard of one good, and profitable Soueraigne is so to bee tendred, that for him alone many bad ones are to bee permitted to stand, at the perill of their owne account to God, and fame.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE DEATH OF POPPÆA SABINA, THE
MISTRESSE AND SECOND WIFE OF
NERO: WHICH OCCASIONS THE
REHEARSALL OF OCTA-
VIA'S TRAGEDY.

THE death of her who had beene his mistresse, and was now his consort in marriage, POPPÆA SABINA, grieved NERO more then all his sinnes. To enioy her hee the rather murdered his owne mother at her instigation; and at her like instigation, first expelled his wife, OCTAVIA, the daughter of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, then banisht her into the vncomfortable iland, PANDATARIA, and finally slew her, though her portion was the ROMAN empire (which honest AFRANIVS BURRHVS durst vrge) and her selfe in the flower of her youth; as being destroyed in her twentieth yere. Yet to effect a disorderly act orderly, his first obiection to induce a nullitie, was barrennesse; which foundring in the passage, as seeming insufficient, adultery was laid to her charge. PYTHIAS, one of her women, being wrung vpon the torture to force a confession (for the crime was first laid against OCTAVIA, and proofes were sought for after-

afterwards) to the iniurie of her imperiall lady, gaue this memorable example of loyall seruice. TIGEL-
LINVS (who had NERO's sword, saith XIPHIL-
LINE, and was to NERO as an euill Genius, and
to men, & things as the handle of the scourge of the
world) sitting in commillion at the rack, demanded
some immodest questions touching OCTAVIA;
but PYTHIAS being raised aboue feare or pain by
honest courage, did spit in the commissioners face,
telling him that her lady was honestier in her wo-
mans parts then his mouth. And albeit the truth
was vnable to preferue OCTAVIA's life, yet her
honour thereby remaines intire. SENECA had vr-
ged in vain her births prerogatiues, and the vertues
of her life, for a stop to his precipitations, but the
values which hee did set vpon the strumpets out-
ward excellencies, and her plesancies of conuersati-
on ouer-weighd in him (who neuer beheld, or be-
leeued vertue) both his proper conscience, and the
others greater worthinesse. More vaine for hinder-
ing the wrong was the peoples vnarmed furie,
which brake herevpon, and dragg'd into the durt the
images of POPPEA, preparing to fire euen NERO
himselſe out of his palace, if hee tooke not OCTA-
VIA againe. But hee easily withstood them by his
guards, and tamed their distempers with blowes.
Thistragedie of OCTAVIA hapned in the eighth
yeere of NERO, prouing all those publicke vowes
and sacrifices vaine, which not long before were
made in the Capitoll by SVLPICIVS CAMERI-
NVS, master of the College of the Aruall Brethren,
for the weale of NERO, and of OCTA-
VIA. But the small successe needes the
lesse wonder, when the gods are vnderstood to
whom they offred. For her Father CLAVDIUS

was one (as the inscribed marble testifies) who had most reason to heare them, vnlesse hee now found (as a God) that OCTAVIA was not his daughter indeed, but the daughter of an *Egyptian Piper*, and of her mother the Empreſſe *Meſalina*. POPPÆA durſt ſuggeſt it to NERO behinde OCTAVIA's backe. So much it hurts the moſt innocent childe to haue a laſciuious mother; and ſo much it concernes worthy mothers to liue in good fame; becauſe the blemiſh deſcends, and ſomewhat preiudicates the deſcendents vnderſeruedly. To this bloody violence was added ſuch an indignitie as doubled the cauſe of commiſeration: OCTAVIA's head was brought to SABINA for a ſolace. But to come into the ſecure fruition of this one bewitching woman, it was not enough for him, that with the liues of his mother, and wife, hee had removed from himſelfe all ſound aduiſe, as well as all reſpect to ciuill, or naturall obligations, vnleſſe he had alſo reacht one hand to MASSILIA in the weſt of the world for the head of CORNELIVS SYLLA (the deſcendent of SYLLA the *Dictator*) and the other to ASIA in the Eaſt, for the head of RVBELLIVS PLAVTVS, who by the mothers ſide was a branch of the imperiall familie, to fortifie his iniquities with preuention of rebellion. Theſe two chiefe peeres, his chiefe feares, being thus diſpatched, ſhee was brought to NERO's bed as his bride. Let vs now behold the end. In the fourth yere after OCTAVIA's diuorce POPPÆAS turne is come. Shee was noble for birth, but by beauty more: for her mother, hauing the reputation to be the faireſt lady of her time, ſhee kept that glory aliue in her perſon, augmented with the felicitie of hereditarie faireneſſe; ſo bewitching a ſeat had pride, craft, cruelty, luſt, and all high vices

vices obtained, the more easily to deceiue, and dam-
 nifie the world by her. TACITVS describes her,
 gracious of speech, nor without rare cunning how
 to seeme modest in company, but playing in priuate
 the lasciuious wanton, alwayes shifting her appe-
 rites, and applications whther her chiefe ends led.
 She was in marriage with a fit, and worhie hus-
 band RVFVS CRISPINVS, a worhie knight
 of ROME, and was by him the vnhappy mother
 of a sonne, whom NERO commanded to bee
 drowned a childe, because among the prettie sports
 thereof, it would play (as one translates the place
 in SVETONIVS) for dukedomes, and empires.
 But for the loue of MARCVS SALVIVS OTHO
 (afterwards an vsurper *Cæsar*) shee abandoned that
 husband, and fitting the vses of OTHO, and NE-
 RO by turnes, till all her owne turnes were serued,
 she finally abandoned OTHO also, for NERO,
 whose fruition was the height of her wishes, to be-
 come thereby the top of woman-kinde in wicked-
 nesse, no lesse then in maiesty of place. Thus far at
 least a furie of hell, in the shape of a *Venus*: for there
 was no priuledge of naturall guifts, nor purchase
 of artificall, which she either wanted, or would
 want, wherewith to worke vpon the captiue empe-
 rour. OTHO was at first NERO's *pandar*, then
 his *wittall*, and had beene a sacrifice (because he still
 claimed partnership in SABINA's society) had not
 SENECA (as PLVTARCK saith) preserued him,
 by suggesting an employment for him into LVSI-
 TANIA, where OTHO remained with much ho-
 nour, till GALBAROSE. In the tragedy of OCTA-
 VIA, NERO pleads her praises, as of a ladie most
 worhie of his loue, for her incomparable beauty,
 forme, and graces, leauing nothing out, but the
 relish

relish of all praises, and that which TACITVS most truly notes, was wanting in her, an honest minde. Shee was with childe by NERO when OCTAVIA was put away. Her curiosities, and delicacies about the care of her person are so famous, that the finest dames, and ladies may deriue vp to her, as their chiefe, in all their polishing mysteries. Her mules had bridles, and furnitures of gold, and were commonly shod with siluer, yea some of them (as PLINIE saith) with gold. But what was that in so vast a fortune? Therefore that which EVTROIIVS and his *Metaphrast* PÆANIVS note, among the chiefe arguments of NERO's riot, that he filht with nets of gold, drawne with cords of purple, rather seemes such a vaine singularity as this, then a wonder of waste. Her five hundred female asses, in whose milke shee bathed, were euermore about her court. For the care of her skin was such, that shee rather wished death then the decay thereof. The *Satyrist* celebrates a fragrant paste, of her inuention, denominated *Poppæanum* of her. But one verse of that author mistaken, hath moued some erroneously to write, for encrease of the wonder, that her asinine dayrie went with her into banishment; whereas she was neuer in banishment, though himselfe, hauing first hung CÆSAR fast at the lines of her eyes, most cunningly threatned, if she might not be his wife, then to leaue him, and to wander ouer the world as a banished person. This hastned AGRIPPINA's ruine, there being no meane among such riuals. But the euill fortune of ROME denied the remoue of such a dainty pestilence as SABINA. Shee was wouen now into all the secrets, and swayes of empire among the same threds by which shee was wrought into her

her lords affections. Therefore shee sat with him in his counsell of bloud, vpon the head of *SENECA*, none present but they, and *TIGELLINVS*. Coignes represent that lady in this vnattired dresse, and posture.

They who haue seene the marble heads of *POPPEA*, remaining at *ROME*, can best iudge how neare the stone, and metall agree together in her picture. To mee there seemes not in the coigne such an admirable loueliness of face, as might carry the force of so strong and strange enchantment. *NERO*, in his amorous songs, called her tresses *amber*. A translation which seemed to *PLINIE* so ambitious, and improper, as hee marshalled it among *NERO*'s monsters: the sametropie of speech reputed in our doting age, but a weake, and cheape commendation, among beauties deuoted adorers. Cæstially prouidence confest, that it now concerned the glory of it selfe to giue an example in *POPPEA*, what a painted dunghill dishonest beauty is. Vpon the wedding-night it selfe, shee saw in a fearefull dreame the horrible foulness of her wayes, and had a faire warning (for I doe not thinke this particular in the tragedie of *OCTAVIA* to be poetical) that *NERO* the author of her aduancement, should be

be the minister of deserued vengeance. It seemed to her, that the matrons of ROME with discheueld haire, weepingly mourned at her marriage: that NERO'S murthered mother, sprinckled with the blood of NERO, rushed forth at the terrible sound of trumpets, brandished a flaming firebrand, and that POPPÆA for feare did follow at a becke. Immediately the ground cleft, into the open hollownesse whereof her marriage-bed, and SABINA her selfe were sodainly hurried together. There while shee musingly reposed her wearie body, behold, her former husband, RVFVS CRISPINVS, with her drowned sonne, and heire, and a throng of others entred: CRISPINVS offers to renew intermitted embracements; when NERO in an affright breakes into the roome, and forceth his bright drawne sword into her throat. This was the inauspicious dreame. The end whereof fell out accordingly touching the actor, though it varied in the way. For NERO comming late one euening from his chariot-sports, POPPÆA, then great with childe, and as in such cases sicklie, vpon confidence in the naturall and customarie priuiledges of such a condition, and of her predominant power, pertly pratted at him for being so long abroad, nor forbare with reproaches, and taunts to incense that fierce and sauage lord so farre, that with a kicke of his heele on her belly, abortion followed, and shee her selfe died of the cruell blow. The vengeance therefore forewarned to her, and euer to be expected of her likes, was thus paid throughly home. My heart in the meane time is at good peace within it selfe to behold the honour of heauenly iustice thus fully clear'd and settled. But the dead body of POPPÆA was not burnt according to the custome of the

the noble ROMANS, but emboweld, and embalmed like a forein Queene, or Maiestie. PLINIE therefore (who wrote the life of NERO) cannot be meant to speake of her funerall *courfeu* (if I may so tearme it) but either of her consecration, or of some other rituall magnificence, where he in his Naturall Histories, hath left it seriously written, that *one whole yeares crop of all the cinamom, and casia, which Arabia afforded, amounted not to so much as was alone consumed in solemne fires and flames vpon her finall ceremonies.* Though this was no common madnesse, yet, as he did most firmly affect her while shee liued (notwithstanding the sodein phrensie in which he accidentally slew her) so, nor contenting himselfe to giue her the rites of an Empreisse only, or AVGVSTA, he procured her to be enstalled a GODDESSE also. Which in the frontispice of this volumne is expressed by a *deificatorie* herse, or throne; the *peacocke* being the same thing in signification there at the defication of a woman, which an eagle was at a mans. Therefore his vast provisions to raise her by her name, and picture, to his imaginarie heauen was a bed of spices, and odours, like the figuratiue nest of the *Phoenix*. Her adoration was hereupon obtruded with such earnestnesse, that the honest, and genrous dislike thereof was criminally obiected to PÆTVS THRASEA; that famous Senatour, whom TACITVS admires for his vertue. And this accusation ranckt by his enemies among the quarrels pickt against him, did helpe to bring him to his end. CALIGVLA had led to his cosen NERO in this kinde. For hee had formerly consecrated DRV-SILLA, his sister and concubine, as NERO did POPPÆA. But NERO impatient of her losse,

to vphold his sensible solace, by force of imagination, sought to conuert pretie SPORVS, a delicate youth, into a girle, because he nearly resembled her. And there wanted not those (saith *Dio Chrysostomus*) who for reuward durst vndertake it. So that euen her dietie was mischieuous. For it first cost SPORVS his sex; and when his lord was dead, it cost him his life also, by his owne hand reft vnder VITELLIVS *Cæsar*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

OF THE EAST-INDIAN TRADE IN
NERO'S TIME.

THIS furious wilfull waste of such pretious wares, consumed by whole ship-loades at once, in honour of humane carcases, which they offered to their gods by crummes, and drams, leads PLINIE, as a patriot, into such a speculation, and complaint, as is worthie for other times to know. *The EAST-INDIAN Trade*, a terrible drain of treasure euen in those dayes. For PLINIE, by occasion of the aromatickes, and spices, which being vsed about POPPÆA's herse, were imported commodities, speaking also of fishings for pearles in the *INDIAN Ocean*, and of other vaine riches, seriously affirms, that the trafficke thither did annually conueigh out of ROME in ready coigne so much, as by our standard amounts to more then three hundred thousand pounds sterling. One little slender necke (saith TERTVLLIAN) supports whole

whole Forrests, and ilands, and SENECA writes, that patrominies dangled in file by two's and three's, at the tips of ladies cares: his owne wife one of them. Nor was this any wonder, when some one *union* was sold (saith PLINIE) for aboute a million of gold. These mad valuations worthily incited merchants to trauaile vp the riuer of NILE, and from thence by *carauans* or *contuoyes* ouer land (as PLINIE describes their shortest way) to the Red Sea, and so to the INDIAN Ocean. The ordinary returnes, in December, or Ianuarie, yere by yere (as he rates the profit) yeelded in cleare gaine an hundred for one. Prodigious excesses at ROME being the reason of carrying such heapes of treasure abroad, were found, and felt to bee ouer-burthenous, and diseasefull euen to ROME it selfe, though the riches of all the world lay packt and piled there together. Those *Oriental* nations did alwayes (as it seemes) vnderstand the vse and value of our mints, and were so happy in the follies of the West, that while they sat in quiet at home, they were sought vnto from the farthest coasts by sea and land, through all sorts of perils, to receiue for their shadowie superfluities our substantiall payments; and for wares either meerely ornamentall, and voluptuarie, or not needfull but in a moderate measure, to emburse ready gold and siluer, the materiall sinewes of commerce, and the best staple-ware of common-weale. But if profusion might be tollerable in ROMANS, who had the mines of SPAIN (famous euen in the MACCABEAS) and all the meanes of the world to maintaine the stocke of bullion, and to augment it, those other noble nations will vndoubtedly beware betimes, which want the like. For they intend not

to returne to such a condition as C I C E R O speakes of, where he writes, there was not in all B R I T A I N so much as a scrap of siluer. The tranllatour of P L I N I E S *Naturall Histories*, hath rendred the originall in such words, as if the place were not to be meant of treasure conueighed away for trade, but onely laid out to furnish a voiage. For what reason I know not. Cleare it is, that P L I N I E speakes of money not expended, but exhausted.

CHAP. XXXVII.

SOME ROMAN ANTIQVITIES EXAMINED, SEEMING TO GIVE diuinitie TO N E R O. HONOVABLE WORDS OF POPPÆA SABINA BY FLA- VIVS IOSEPHVS.

BEing in the argument of R O M A N deifications, the place doth conueniently admit a G R Y T E R I A N inscription, which in the hundred and sixteenth page of that goodly volume, seemes to call N E R O, *Diuus*, or a *God*. For there we finde :

D. NERONIS.
QVINQVENNALIB.

The coignes also of O C T A V I V S S T R A D A haue one of copper with this sentence vpon it;

A G R I P P I N A A V G.
D I V I C L A V D I I N E R O N I S M A T E R.

But

But NERO is no where found to haue vsurped, or accepted *diuinitie*: in that alone hee vsed modesty. In IANVS GRVTERVS therefore, it should (as I thinke) be D.D. that is to say, *dedicated*: the rest of the words also in the moniment, fauour that interpretation. As for that coigne in OCTAVIVS STRADA, the inscription doth infallibly belong to the piety of CLAVDIVS CÆSAR. For hee was consecrated a *Diuus*, and did likewise ordaine, in memorie of his mother AGRIPPINA, the wife of GERMANICVS CÆSAR (put to death by her husbands vnkle, TIBERIVS) that her character of honour should be led in the CIRCVS vpon the dayes of show, her selfe named *Augusta*. This solues the doubt so, that NERO can haue no interest in the words, who was neuer either called, or written, CLAVDIVS NERO, but NERO CLAVDIVS, nor was at any time named *Diuus*, or *Diuine*. CEREALIS ANICIVS indeed (as the register, or commentaries of the acts of the Senate witnessed) moued openly for a temple to be erected to NERO as a God, at the common charge, when the PISONIAN knot of conspiracie was cut in pieces. But that sacrilegious flatterie neuer past current; and was it selfe reckoned afterwards among the signes of NERO's fall at hand; because that highest worship was reserved for the dead departed. The immortality of the soule euery where conuincd to be certaine, out of the vniuersall loue and care which is in humane nature, for the immortality of a name. The true formall cause of all the old wonders in *Towers, Mausoleums, Pyramides*, and the like; and at this present the supream ambition of the most wise CHINESES. But notwithstanding the ROMANS neuer solemnized any deifica-

deification, *apotheoſis*, or enrollment of Worthies among the Gods, till the funerals; yet both A V G V S T V S, T I B E R I V S, and C L A V D I V S were honoured alie with temples. Or rather not they, but either their *Genij* ſimplie, and ſolie; or ſome other of their adored objects, as goddeſſe R O M E, or the like, ioinſly and together with the *Genius* of C Æ S A R. Therefore, though no man was properly called *Diuus* till he was dead; yet ſacrifices, and celeſti- all rites were vſuall in this other kinde to the liuing. Nor could it iuſtly ſeeme any vſurpation in N E R O, who according to the value at which heauen went in his coſen C A L I G V L A's dayes, did as exquiſite- ly earne the ſame for himſelfe, and his adored P O P P Æ A, by wicked deedes, as euer the mad C A L I G V L A did for his concubine ſiſter, D R V S I L L A. P O P P Æ A S A B I N A much more worthy then N E R O. For ſhe was not otherwiſe without praiſe: at leaſtwiſe, when once ſhe ſtood poſſeſſt of her ambitious ends. For F L A V I V S I O S E P H V S (whom I O S E P H S C A L I G E R is not afraid to commend for his diligence, and loue of truth, aboue all the G R E E K E S and R O M A N S, and in thoſe reſpects more ſafely to bee truſted, euen in their owne affaires, then they themſelues) calls her *a good lady, or pious woman*, and franckely celebrates her bountie, clemencie, and promptneſſe to releue the oppreſſed. Which though, as towards her, it might partly ſeeme thankfulneſſe in him (being indeed her bounden beneficiarie) yet would not hee, for particular obligation, abuſe publicke faith with any officious falſhood; chiefly, when ſhe her ſelfe had now beene dead many yeares before. For our I O S E P H V S was that noble ingenuous perſon, to whom his roiall countreyman, king A G R I P P A, writ
about

above threescore severall letters, all of them testimonies of his truth in storie; whose writings also in that respect TITVS CÆSAR honoured with his owne princely signature. And that his worthie studies might neither want dignitie, nor ease, the frugall emperour VESPASIAN gaue him faire lands; and his second sonne DOMITIAN (otherwise most vnlike to father, and brother) did make those Manours, which IOSEPHVS held of VESPASIANs gift, free from all manner of publicke charge, and paiments. An honour which IOSEPHVS himselte doth esteeme paramount to all the rest. Such was the candor and fauour as well of the gentle, as tyrannicall, towards the sober learned: neither was his most opposite religion any barre to their enioyment. My reuerence towards his merits hath gladly laid hold vpon this occasion to celebrate his memory. POPPEA (for a certaine) was somewhat, most delightfull; because OTHO *Cesar*, when he came to the empire, both restored her statua's, & publisht Greeke coigne of his own, with her image and name vpon it, not as *Diua*, but *Augusta*; though she had abandoned him, for NERO; that is to say, for empire. OCTAVIVS STRADA hath the coigne in print. Her most glory is our not vnreasonable hope, that shee might secretly fauour *Christianitie*, because NERO came from their martyrdomes, at such time as by chiding him she kindled his furie, and thereby drew vpon her selfe her owne destruction.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE COMMING OF TIRIDATES
TO ROME.

SOone after POPPÆAS deification, TIRIDATES, brother to the PERSIAN, or PARTHIAN monarch, VOLOGESVS (for PERSIAN, and PARTHIAN were now indifferently meant each of other among the ROMANS) and the same also a principall maister in his countries *Magickes*, came safe to ROME. His errand was to receiue backe there at NERO'S owne hands, the diadem of ARMENIA, which hee was wrought by CORBVLO to deposit before the ROMAN ensignes, vpon condition to re-assume it so. An action of incredible cost, and glory. And not to robbe NERO'S time of the rights thereof, his sloathfulness had the felicitie, by other mens labours, to recouer publicke losses, as formerly in our iland by the valour of SVETONIVS PAVLINVS, and finally now in the *Orient*, by his kinsman, DOMITIVS CORBVLO. This did cost deare. For this one homager was allowed after the rate of twenty thousand crowns the day, from his first setting forth towards ROME, till his entrance there. Hee had in his company for hostages to NERO, not his owne children onely, but the children also of his brother (that great king VOLOGESVS) of PACORVS, and of MONOBASVS, and in his traine three thousand PARTHIAN horsemen, with store of ROMANS. A ready meane to consume so great a summe;

the

the trauaile being whollie by land. For it was against the rites of his mysteries to come otherwise, least hee should violate nature and them, with vomits at sea. But those two most goodlie horses of marble, which at this day remaine in ROME, among the principall wonders of sculpture there (the reputed workmanship of PHIDIAS, and PRAXITILES) were conueighed at this time by ship, by the proposition of TIRIDATES (if drowzie BOISSARDVS be not deceiued) as a most acceptable and roial present. And, that BOISSARDVS is much deceiued, I am led to beleue; because in the ONVPHRIAN descriptions, the two horses of TIRIDATES are placed vnder that title, in the seauenth region of ROME, and their stuffe is not of stone but of brasle. Other two of marble are of ALEXANDER Magnus, backing *Bucephalus*, situated in *High-street-Ward*, or in the sixth ROMAN region. Besides the former expense, NERO in one dayes space, & in part of entertainment, guilded POMPEIS theater ouer. The greatnes wherof TERTVLLIAN excellently exprefeth, where he saith, that POMPEI was onely not great when compared with that Theater. Proportionably to these beginnings he bare all other charges, and at departure, rewarded his new vassal with an hundred thousand *sestertium*, which, according to the rates of our exchange, rise to about seauen times as many pounds; all, to set out the maiesty of the ROMAN empire to strangers, in the seat of the empire. A great and princely concept. By these matchlesse magnificences (for NERO in his guifts was not of a narrow heart) hee so enshrined himselfe in the mindes of the PARTHIANS, that twenty yeares after NERO was dead, his onely name was so gracious, that a counterfeite vsurping it,

they were hardly wunne to render him, or from not affording their vtmost assistance in his quarell. The receipt of TIRIDATES was vniuersally applauded. NERO therefore, who was so auerse to all martiall expeditions, that but for shame hee had drawne the ROMAN legions out of BRITAIN, and so timorous of weapons, that TIRIDATES riueted his sword to the sheath thereof, for his assurance (because hee would not vnknighly yeeld to goe vngirt, though it were vpon condition, to receiue the diadem of ARMENIA) was now notwithstanding, with as shrill, and ioyous showts acclaimed *Imperator*, as if in person hee had conquered ARMENIA by the sword. This was the out-side of things. But NERO had other, and those more inward ends, in his so ambitious inuitation, and pompous entertainment of the PARTHIAN prince. For thinking it little, to bee but a god among the gods, his minde sored to command by magicke ouer them all. Then this one phansie hee neuer had in PLINIES conceipt any more generous, nor could possibly mount higher. His mothers ghost continuing troublesome, there is no where else any probability that he laboured to call her vp to a parlea, and to appease her, rather then now, though also now in vaine. Somewhat of magicke practises seemes to be insinuated vnto vs, in the little image, or puppet of a girle, which NERO so superstitiously adored, as likewise in *the serpents slough*, found about the bolster of his bed, when as yet hee was a babe, or infant. Of both those forcerous toyes there is mention in SVETONIVS. But though NERO was initiated by king TIRIDATES into the order of magicians at their magicke suppers, and to the gift of the kingdome of ARMENIA had bestow-

bestowed as much in entertainment as was worth another kingdome, yet the art would not come. No surer signe in *PLINIES* opinion that the whole mystery was a mockage, when *NERO* could not purchase it. But the friends therof excused the faile: for that the gods would not appeare to a body which was pimply, and vncleane. Such was *NERO's*, as *SVETONIVS* saith. But those goblins who were auerted with foule skinnes, and not with foule finnes, were worthy of *NERO's* orisons, and *PLINIES* scornes. To this far extended glory of crowning *TIRIDATES*, *NERO* added another greater. For there neither being warre, nor remaines of warre within the *ROMAN* world, hee closed the gates of *IANVS*, in signe of vniuersall peace. This coigne was dedicated to the memory thereof, and giues vs the antient plaine figure of that famous temple.

By *EVSEBIUS* it may well appeare, that it was about this time also that *NERO* vsed the glorious prerogatiue of enlarging the bounds of the citie of *ROME*, because hee had prouinciatted the kingdomes of *PONTVS Polemoniac*, & of the *COTTIAN Alps*, and enlarged thereby the territorie of the

empires demefn. A thing recorded as the principall honour of AVGVSTVS, and of other the greateft ROMANS.

CHAP. XXXIX.

OF PVBLIVS PÆTVS THRASEA, WHOM
TACITVS CALLETH Vertues felfe. AND
OF DEMETRIVS, HIS Cynick.

THEfe publicke ioyes were not pure, but mixt with sorrowes; as all in NERO'S dayes. As if his meaning had beene, while the world was diuerted vpon delightfull obieſts, to take his aduantage, and time, for committing ſome ſuch notable cruelty, as might rather bee iouerwhelmd, then iuſtified. Such was now the extinction of PÆTVS THRASEA, whoſe reputed vertue made him ſeem the times chiefe wonder, the parallell of MARCVS CATO. That BAREA SORANVS, the deſigned *Conſul*, was coupled with him in the calamitie, added to the opinion of BAREA'S worth, but tooke from ~~him~~ his fame: the others carrying moſt eyes, and voices after it. The pointſ of his indiſtment, and the deadly pointſed inferences which his accuſers drew for his deſtruction, as againſt one who was too good to liue, are ſumm'd where they are likely to continue longeſt, in the CORNELIAN ANNALS. Morall vertue is formidable to abuſed power. This noble ETHNICK was moſt vnhappy to haue no better a counſellour at his laſt wants then that DEMETRIVS, whom TACITVS calſ a *Doſtor of the Cynicke rule, or ſchools*. That ſentence
of

of his, which SENECA cites with praise, will speake that description aloud. *The words of the ignorant (quoth DEMETRIVS) are in the same account with mee as winde which the belly vents: for what are the odds, when such fellows make a noise, whither they make it vpward or downward?* Golden sense in an vncleanly resemblance, and worthy a Cynicks vse, if for such a man as SENECA to commend. And there is scarce another whom SENECA doth equally honour, wheresoeuer hee hath cause to induce, or mention him. Cynicks were cheape acquaintance, costing little. But this ghostly Doctor was the onely helpe which dying THRASIA vsed to informe himselfe what to thinke of the Soule of man, and of the Soules dislociation from the body. A corruptor of THRASEA, and of all his other disciples, by breeding contumacie in them towards superiors. If at leastwise this be that DEMETRIVS whom VESPASIAN the emperour, called a *Curr*, for barking or grumbling out somewhat against him, without vouchsafing either to rise vp, or otherwise to reuerence him, being then AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, and a prince, indeed borne to re-found, and restore the ROMAN empire. SENECA by his so much admiring this wise man, (and according to his institution he was excellently such) doth therein well enough show, that himselfe was farre from CHRISTIAN.

CHAP. XL.

THE GENERALL CREDIT, AND VSE OF
Stage-poëtrie, AND OF ACTING IN
PLAYES, IN NERO'S TIME.

BVt this very PÆTVS THRASEA, as well as PISO, the head of the conspiracie, could act a part in a tragedy, and did it in publicke. See what great examples can perswade! After NERO beganne to delight in verses, SENECA more addicted himselfe to their making, then euer before; and when SENECA (the most famous professor of morall wisdom) wrote tragedies, NERO, and the lords, might with lesse reproofe bee actors, or beare a person. For at PADVA, the place of his birth, PÆTVS THRASEA openly sung (that was the proper word of art for tragedians, as to dance was the like for comedians) in a tragicke habit, at the playes antiently ordained there by ANTE-NOR the Trojan. OEDIPVS, HERCVLES *furious*, and THIESTES, are three of SENECA'S tragedies. And among those in which NERO was an actor, those names of tragedies are in DIO'S catalogue. THIESTES the chiefe of SENECA'S. The parties themselves whom those actors personated were neuer so pompous in their liues, as their counterfeits and imitators were vpon the ROMAN stage: for NERO studded their golden scepters, staues, and visards, with orientall vnions, & pearls of the most caracts. Himselfe beheld the publicke sword-playes in a spectacle, or mirrour of emerald, perhaps to help his eye-sight, which was otherwise imperfect, & poring.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

NERO RESOLVES FOR HIS VOIAGE
INTO GREECE, BUT NOT AS A
RIGHT ROMAN.

THe sad and heauie clouds which sat vpon the face of the citie for the losse of her best citizens being wiped away by the chearefulness, and splendor of the late entertainment, NERO effectually meditated a triumph; of which neuer any ROMAN thought before, most worthy of his crochets, and of his inglorious way to glory. To gain from GREECE in GREECE, the fame of the best singer, the best cytharist, the best player, the best chariotéer, was the conquest hee affected. A vaine man, among vaine people, and they his vassals also, might well rest assured of all the garlands which either OLYMPVS, or other places of triall could afford. There was a time when hee brauely debated of marching in person with an auengefull army, one while into the CASPIAN entries, another while into ÆTHIOPIA, whither, for his information, hee emplot a tribune and certaine companies of prætorian souldiers, as to prepare, and accommodate his enterprize. But these propositions proued embrions of vanity, for hee neuer proceeded further then to the discourse, and shew of preparations, though the matter was proper to his calling, and those other not. For the prince of LATIN poësie in enumeration of the arts which belonged to a right ROMAN, omits fidling, and faining, and excellently teacheth, that to giue lawes to the world, and to rule
paramount

paramount in peace and warre, according to iustice; to spare the dutifull; and beat downe the rebellious; were properly theirs. High towring thoughts did not sort with NERO's soule. His poore one fluttered among the lower flyers.

CHAP. XLII.

THE PROVISIONS OF NERO FOR ASSURING ROME TO HIMSELFE, IN HIS ABSENCE.

THe liues of worthy persons were sacrificed in preparatiue for his safe departure out of ITALIE, and to secure his abode in GREECE. Once before this time, when he was in a minde to haue sailed into ÆGYPT, but did not, hee chiefly promised two things by his proclamation; first, that *his absence should not be long*, and next, that *his provisions for the publike should bee such, that all things should remaine immoueable, and prosperous till his returne*. By the order taken now, the course at that time may be coniectured. For without regard to the maiestie of the ROMAN name, he left ITALIE, in meere tendernesse to his peculiar, vnder the command of HELIVS CÆSARIANVS, an enfranchised bondman, enfranchised by CLAVDIVS. As if imperiall ITALIE were now become but some countrey-farme, or grange, which needed nothing elle but onely a seruile bailif. At the same time, and vndoubtedly with a purpose to preuent rebellion in the very seed thereof during his absence, hee published an edict (mentioned in PHILOSTRATVS) to the speciall credit of philosophy, by which *hee*
command-

commanded all doctors, or maisters of that profession to depart out of ROME, and ITALIE. That part of philosophie which concerneth morall wisdom, was deeply had in iealousie, specially the Stoicks, if not for SENECA's sake, certainly, (as TIGELLINVS speakes in TACITVS) because their opinions bred them arrogant, turbulent, and affecting to be in action. And COSSVTIANVS (the sonne in law of TIGELLINVS) objects the like against PÆTVS THRASEA, defending his auersion from those studies by authoritie of the old common weale. Words put, with good aduantage to that sect, into the mouth of such hatefull men as TIGELLINVS, and hee. But PHILOSTRATVS hath done what he can to iustifie their wits who were the authors to NERO of that edict. For while hee vauntingly makes his admired APOLLONIVS, the oracle of all the chiefe rebellions in his time, particularly of VINDEXX, and GALBA against NERO, he shewes withall that NERO's counsell of state foresaw the danger. Those doctors were perilous to empire, vnder the pretext of freedom: CHRISTIANS were not, who knew a better freedom. Things howsoever settled at ROME, hee setteth faile for GREECE, with such multitudes of people, and prouisions for atchieuing that conquest, by which (saith HERODIAN) he made himselfe a ridiculous spectacle) as might very well haue sufficed for the number, and quantities to subdue it, if it had not beene very long before subdued to his hand. And this was done with such dammage to the countrey, as it is a doubtfull case with APOLLONIVS of TIANA whether XERXES did more harme by setting GREECE on fire, or NERO by singing in it.

CHAP. XLIII.

NERO IN GREECE: HIS HATRED
THERE TO THE SENATE OF ROME.
OTHER HIS DOINGS, TOUCH-
ING THE MAINE OF HIS
ERRAND.

THIS voiage into ACHÆIA (for that prouince of GREECE had him most) afforded many aduentures, besides those of his fruitles trials; whose garlands how fresh, and greene soeuer in their leaues, were dry, and sere to glory, the mystery of his errand. His meditations to destroy the SENATE (if that be not among the scandalous fables of which IOSEPHVS on his behalfe giues a generall caueat) began to ripen there. That most noble order of men most wisely situated by ROMVLVS, like a kinde of starry firmament, betweene the fires of maiesty, and the vnstedfast waters of the commonalty, to attemper the heates of the one, and the inundations of the other, a chrystall screene, or spheare in the middelt of absolute power, and absolute obedience, the same which first draue kings out of ROME, and soone after oppressed the people (as being it selfe subiect to corruption, as all other humane institutions) had so far incurred the inward dislike of NERO, that he is charged to haue giuen no slender signes of a purpose to haue abolished that degree. VATINIVS, to whom he was ouer-indulgent, a fellow of a more mischieuous nature, then his originall was base (which neuertheless was not more noble (saith TACITVS) then

then a shoemakers shop had bred it) in his rude buffonries would openly say; CÆSAR, *I hate thee as thou art a Senator*; and for that hatreds sake (as if it were freedome) was easily in speciall grace. This auersion of NERO, how great or little soeuer, was none other then the childe of feare, begotten in him by the late conspiracie of PISO. And of that conspiracie that was the worst effect. But the mischief which he reuengefully meant against the SENATE, what soeuer it was, aborted; him selfe shortly dying. Meane-while his delights (according to their custome) moued in the lowest regions of popularitie. Nor was he fortunate in them. For the best iudgements held it true, that *he was rather any thing then a good singer to the harpe* (saith VINDEX in PHILOSTRATVS) *and yet rather that then a prince*. So poor an ambition, and not to preuaile therein, was pitious. Hee thought otherwise of him selfe. And that beggerly tragedian in SPAINES who disdained to stoop to a comparison in his art with NERO, was luckily poore: for no riches could haue protected such an insolencie. His bribing conquests were interpreted by him, and his courtiers, so gloriously, that poasts were dispatched ouer the ROMAN world to signifie the same; that publicke sacrifices might be made for gratulation. But APOLLONIVS excellently taught what others were to thinke of NERO's skill, and what NERO should haue thought, when being questioned (as to entrap him) what hee conceiued of it, feareleslely answered the bloody TIGELLINVS, *I thinke* (said APOLLONIVS) *better farre then you, for you repute him worthy to sing, but I to hold his peace*. And so it plainly was. For by all confessions it appeares, that his voice was weake, and hollow. The formall

words of allotting the prize at the tourney of arts, and which he himselfe (exercising the office of the common cryer) pronounced in publicke, after euery bowt, or act, are in *DIONS Epitome* these: NERO CÆSAR, *victorious in this triall, crownes the People of Rome, and his owne world with this garland.* After this, or the like manner he obtained in GREECE, during his abode there, onethousand and eight hundred greene crownes, but none of them such as incomparable PINDARVS did celebrate, whose vnreachable MUSE, HORACE worthily admires. That which the Apostle obserued (in his epistles to the CORINTHIANS) touching their preparatorie abstinence, and sufferings, who were to contend for one of those glorious rewards, doth marueilously suite with NERO, who practised in priuate, and in publicke, vnder all the severest lawes of those exercises. PLINIE notes two speciall pointes of his patience, for conseruation of his voice: to lye on his backe with a leaden plate on his breast, and to fast certaine dayes in euery moneth, with nothing else but oile, and syues; and not so much as a bit of bread. There wanted nothing but prayer to haue cast out that diuell of vanity. The Apostle vseth the proper word of those PRIZES, *Agons*; and CORINTH it-selfe (where he preacht, and taught) and (as IOSEPH SCALIGER noteth out of DIONYSIVS, the *Areopagite*) not onely hee, but PETER also stood vpon that *isthmus*, or necke of land, where the games in honour of NEPTVNE were celebrated. So the place and practise were neither vnknowne, nor probably vnseene of that heauenly man. But hee neuer noted more industry in the champions, and aduenturers, for gaining the customariereward, then NERO

Augustus

Augustus vsed in his owne person, being the first of men who most dishonested sacred maiesty with improper maisteries; yea, and that also, mischieuoussly, and to compasse vading ornaments, not immortal.

CHAP. XLIIII.

NERO'S ATTEMPT FOR CUTTING
THROUGH THE CORINTHIAN
Isthmus.

ONE great worke hee entred vpon during his abode in ACHÆA, which seemed worthy of an emperour. For it was the enterprise of digging through the *isthmus*, or neck of land, which like a naturall bridg ioing'd the main of GREECE to the most renowned peninsle thereof, PELOPENNESVS. The least breadth of the straits, from the two opposite hauens, LECHEÆ, & CHENCHREÆ, was by PLINIES commensuration five miles: and to conueigh merchandise about by sea, from but one side of that barre to the other, tooke vp in nauigation aboue five hundred. PHILOSTRATVS accounts the circuit exactly, five thousand, and twenty stadies, eight of those stadies one mile of ours, which (admitting that scale) produceth another, a farre greater summe of miles then PLINIES. Therefore many princes had thought of making a nauigable channell betweene sea, and sea. But king DEMETRIVS being one of them abandon'd it, because the skilfull (PHILOSTRATVS saith they were ÆGYPTIAN philosophers) informed him, that the sea in the one bay was so much

much higher then the sea in the other, that if the partition were remoued, all the neare ilands, vpon the lower leuell would be surrounded; and (which seemes to mee the most probable obiection of all) that the cut it selfe would be of no vse, the current, or waterfall, would bee so impetuous, swift, and strong. Reasons which preferued those two huge peniles of AMERICA (naturally combined at the creation of the world, by a farre broader necke of earth then that which annexed PELOPONNESVS to GREECE) from being fundred by the pickaxe, and spade; though that necke alone is the cause of fetching a circuit from *Nombre de Dios* to PANAMA, many thousands of miles about. So mightie a space there is between at sea. IVLIVS CÆSAR thought of this disynion: CALIGVLA went somewhat further; for he sent to suruey the ground: but NERO made it a serious businesse, & for auspication, and example, he himselfe plaid the pioned in person at the sound of a trumpet (which gaue signall to the *Prætorian* Guards for their generall falling to worke) and digging vp the first of the soile with his owne hands, carried it off in a basket vpon his shoulders. So infinite was the desire hee had to get immortality of fame howsoeuer. Here MVSONIVS (the BABILONIAN Sage, and second in fame to APOLLONIVS for philosophy) was found with his shouell, or spade among NERO's labourers, condemned (as it seemes) to the worke, and was so farre from being troubled, or ashamed, either of his bonds or obedience, that hee most ciuilly askt of his fellow Philosopher, DEMETRIVS (who tooke him in the manner) *what if he should finde him singring an harpe, and singing as NERO did?* DEMETRIVS himselfe reported this of MVSONIVS;

NIVS;

NIVS. And what there was in it for PHILOSTRATVS to mislike, but CÆSARS barbarousnesse, I cannot see. For it seemes to mee an example of a wise, and manly patience vnenforced. For if he could haue approued NERO's courses, he words import that hee should not haue needed to digge in the *Isthmus*. PAVSANIAS saith, that those princes died violently, who formerly attempted it, and DIO tells vs what wonders hapned at this action, for a terrour to NERO, who proceeded in contempt the rather. Bloud gushed forth of the wounded earth, hollow groanes, and horrible noise were heard, and many sprights, or wandring ghosts appeared. Presages of some extreame infelicitie. But the reason which PAVSANIAS brings, to show the offense of such an attempt is wise, and pious, and more worth then all those wonders: *It is hard* (saith hee) *for man to force the workes of God*; which is as much in effect as to say, had God almighty, the most wise creator of the world, seene it good, hee would haue made it otherwise at first. But neither these reasons, nor examples, weighed so much afterward with that most magnificent HEROD of ATHENS, the famous *Sophist*, but that hee both thought the worke a thing of immortall renoune, and wisht also for the leaue of doing. Which neuerthelesse hee fear'd to aske, though it was in far better times then NERO's. The labourers medled not with the stonie entrails of the *Isthmus*, and hauing therefore onely pared away the crust, or mould aloft, the place at this present maintaines the antient, and originall situation, not to be changed. PHILOSTRATVS saith, that the trench was cut halfe a mile vp into the land, from the hauen LECHÆVM, when the worke was abandoned. NERO conquered the

GREEKS

GREEKS by his bribes, and power, in their OLYMPIAN, and PYTHIAN exercises, but himselfe was conquered by the *Isthmus*, which remained inexpugnable. It is a princely thing for princes to desire to excell all men in doing nobly, as they excell all men in sublimity of place: but to erre (as this prince did) in the object of endeauors, and in the meanes of archieurement is miserable, and vnlearned.

CHAP. XLV.

THE END OF HEROICK CORBVLO, AND
THE EMPLOIMENT OF VESPASIAN,
AGAINST THE REBELLIOUS
IEWES.

ALl extraordinary eminencies in subiects, by an old axiom as well of single, as of popular tyranny, are fearefully beheld as dangers, and cautelously preuented as imminent, though neuer any tyrant was able to kill his successor. Here therefore, while NERO demurred about his vndecent victories, DOMITIVS CORBVLO perished. Hee had deserued most excellently at NERO's hands, and for that cause was by him entituled *his benefactor*, and *father*. But iealousie preuailing now aboue the memory of his deserts, hee was sent for into GREECE after the most honorable manner, but being arriued, and waiting for admission to his presence, it was denied, and word sent out that hee must dye, without any cause remembred in histories to haue beene assigned, but onely the will of NERO. His great heart, full of indignation readily yeelded,

yeelded, vsing none other words but these, *I am well enough serued*, and so ranne himselfe vpon his sword. But it was not long before the vngratefull prince stood in need of such another magnanimous leader. For while NERO was yet in ACHÆIA, there arriued the terrible newes of the reuolt of the IEWISH nation, and of the flights and defeats of his armies, which had beene led in vaine against IERVLEM by GESSIVS FLORVS the CLAZOMENIAN, and afterward by CESTIVS GALLVS, the President of SYRIA. CÆSAR, to seeme a right CÆSAR, appeared vnshaken at the relation, but remained inwardly afflicted. VESPASIAN, then in ACHÆIA with him, was perswaded with many sweet words, and promises to beare the stresse of that seruice, God almighty beginning euen then to make some new purueyance (saith FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS) for the reliefe, and better estate of the common-weale of ROME. For the forces which were necessarily entrusted to this captaine, for deduction of the rebells to obedience, gaue him meanes in time to attaine the empire, which his wisdom, and naturall piety restored. From ITALIE also his lieutenant, or vice-roy, HELIVS CÆSARIANVS, whom hee trusted aboue all the free Peeres of the ROMAN world, as holding himselfe most assured of faith, and seruice there, interrupts the solaces of his patron with frequent packets, calling vpon him to returne, the state of publicke affaires requiring it. For HELIVS (who lorded it intollerably) felt the ground of committed power tremble vnder him, and the more stirring spirits, whom hee improperly backt, grow perilous. That maiestickall seat was not for a seruant to possesse subordinately, nor long inordinately for his ill-advised maister. But

when letters, and messages were vnable to plucke him from off the vanities of his glorious quest (for he wrote in answere, that *he had not as yet done enough to make him returne worthy of himselfe*) HELIUS sped to him with such admirable celerity in person, that he might rather seeme to haue flown, then onely to haue plide the switch, or saile. The cause of such hast was the iust feare of a new, and great conspiracie.

CHAP. XLVI.

NERO'S SVCCESSE AT THE TEMPLE
OF APOLLO.

NERO, in the meane time made that iourney to the oracle of APOLLO at DELPHI, where he liked his entertainment so ill, that (as DIO writes) hee seised into his hands the whole CIRREAN Hundred, which antiently belonged to the Temple of APOLLO, as part of the land allotted in mortmain for sustentation of the priests, sharing it as an elscheat among his impious soldiers; nor resting there, prophaned the place it selfe, out of which the oracles issued, by but hering men vpon the mouth of the vent, or caue. What the vsage was which could kindle NERO's anger, and disdeigne against his owne most honor'd APOLLO, whose name, & effigies himself vsurped so confidently, that he stamped it in his coigns, DIO profelleth not to know certainly. I partly thinke that I haue found it out. He came in pompe to visit the *Delphian* deitie, his head crown'd with a garland (the reward, and ensigne of his victorie) his body attired in a long flowing garment, such as parties at the musicke prize accustomed.

customed to weare in their *agon*, with an harpe in his hands. His welcome notwithstanding was so cold, because he was promiscuously cruell, and had a minde immusicall, and base, that the god of wisdom (saith *THEMISTIVS* in his fifth *Oration*) would by no meanes brooke his sight, but trussed vp his locks in an effeminate hair-lace, & decrowned him at his exit: for he seemed vnto him (saith that renowned Greeke Orator) not as *LYCVRGVS* did at his comming, a God in humane shape, but a wilde bruit beast vnder the semblant of a man. And this it was which probably enraged *NERO*: and this the disgrace, to which *IVLIANVS Augustus* (for so Saint *HEROME* calls him, who could haue called him the *Apostata*) alludes in the person of *APOLLO*, at the Satyricall banquet of the *CÆSARS*. *IVLIANVS* owne words there are such as these. Then *NERO* enters next, with an harpe in his hands, and a garland of laurell vpon his head. Here *SILENVS*, looking aside at *APOLLO*, said: This is the man who would needes be thought to be thy fellow. It is so (answered King *PHÆBVS*) but I shall soone depriue him of his crowne of bayes: for neither did he make me his example in all, and euen in those things in which he attempted to be my parallel, hee was no true imitator. At this word, *COCYTUS* pluckt his crowne from his head, and drew him headlong to hell. Thus far that emperour. But *APOLLO* was otherwise quit with *NERO*, by his old deceitfull way of riddles. For *NERO* enquiring after his final fortune, the mocking spirit had aduised him thus, BEWARE OF THE THREESCORE AND THIRTEENTH YERE, which hee (as *SVETONIVS* saith) vnderstood to be meant of his owne ages date, but it proued *GALBA's*, who dethroned him. So securitie disarmed his person,

and the wrong end of the double text ran through him. Superstition is worthily fed with illusion, and irreligion as worthily punished with credulity.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE CHOICE ANTIQVITIES, AND ALL
THE PRIME MONIMENTS OF THE
GREEKS, CVLL'D, AND CARRIED
AWAY FOR ROME, BY NERO'S
AUTHORITIE.

THe defacings of GREECE (that temple of ciuill glory) and of *Greekish* countreys, by selection, and transportation of their monimentall rarities, chiefly vpon occasion of NERO's voyage, which gaue him meanes to behold them, and cause to couet their possession, were most offensive. For, besides the murthers, rauishments, extortions, and other the euils of such a tempest, as NERO's emulous presence, they were euery where rob'd of their principall pieces of art. Inualluable all, because they belonged to the immortality of memory (their ciuill felicitie) irreparable also, because their indiuiduall antientnesse could not be supplied, if their artificiall excellencies might. Their temples, sanctuaries, *Therms*, *Hyppodroms*, and all other their publicke, and priuate buildings, OLYMPIA in ELIS, and DELPHI in BÆOTIA, the capitall seat of APOLLO himselte, were subiect to his generall pillage, onely RHODES excepted. A fortune, not of the situation, which disioign'd it from the Continent of ASIA, but to charter-fauour. For CRATON, or ACRATVS (as TACITVS calls him) who had

NERO'S

NERO's commission, could not meddle there, because that noble Sea-state living free to her owne lawes, by permission of the ROMANS, was by speciall words exempted. In thankfulnesse of which priuiledge (grounded vpon their former good hap to haue had him their patron vnder CLAVDIVS) it may wel be that this RHODIAN coign was publish't.

It represents a victory, to flatter NERO perhaps, when they, as the rest of the empire, concurred in the applause of his *Olympian* reuels. DIO PRYSIAS (furnamed of his golden eloquence, CHRYSOSTOMVS) though otherwise a stranger at RHODES, (sauing only as euery countrey was a philosophers home, and philosophers would be thought the common doctors, and superuisors of mankind) made a famous free oration there, in TRAIANS time, to rectifie the decaying opinions, and practise of honour among them. A most noble argument, and as nobly handled. The RHODIANS, who abounded in brazen statuas, standing consecrated to the euerlasting names of their represented Worthies, were iniuriously growne, for sparing cost, to rase out old inscriptions to gratifie new deserts. Against this bad encroaching custome DION bent his engins of reason, and speech, and obiected NERO's priuiledge. That *College of Honour*, for which your Lordship in
your

your excellently honest zeale to our countrey, openly moued, meetes euery where with aids, and supports of authority, and reason; and DIOS oration alone were able to introduce that sacred nourfery of braue encouragements; diuturnitie of remembrance for publicke merit, by statuarie, plasticke, fustorie, and other the arts of magnificence. A secret, little vnderstood, but neuer to be too soone enured among the noble. It was for such a minde as NERO's (which enuide immortality of good renown to others, and was deficient to his owne) to violate the wonders of workemanship, & the greater wonder of deseruing such memorials. Images to life, and the names of Worthies in arts, and armes, should be aduanced in the most conspicuous ciuill places. For there is no vse to be instituted of them, but ciuill, and for ciuill causes only. If any will contend, that these iniuries to the depresse'd GREEKS were not all of them done by NERO's authoritie at this present, I will not strue, but turne about from hence, with a short stop, to his returning home.

CHAP. XLVIII.

NERO'S RETVRNE.

HELIVS, being arriued where CÆSAR was, preuailed so far that he sodeinly returned in such tempestuous weather, as it gaue iust hope, that the seas would take to heart the cause of the land, and deuoure him with waues whom waters could not wash white, nor deserued a graue-roome on earth. The train-sent of a conspiracie which HELIVS did beat vpon, seems to haue beene the fatall purpose of that rebellion in GALLIA, the force

force whereof shouldred NERO, before it was long, out of his imperiall seat. For as the seas moue of themselues with a kinde of horror, before some terrible tempest, and as certaine signes doe alwayes foregoe euery great sicknesse in humane bodies, so, maine mutations are neuer in the world without their sensible tokens, effects of heauenly prouidence. It hapned so now in GALLIA before the deadly stroake of change. And hereint I doe not meane of those prodigies only, which PLINIE commemorates as fore-runners of downefall, and whereof himselfe was a witnesse. Such were *riuers flowing backe to their springs; oliue-gardens, and meadowes, in the lands of VECTIVS MARCELLVS* (NERO's attourney generall) *transported ouer the high-way betweene, and setting themselues on the further side; the decay of that cypresse tree which had lasted from the dayes of ROMVLVS till then; the paire of hermaphrodite mares* (foaled in GALLIA, among the TREVIRI) which serued to draw NERO's coach, or the like reputed wonders; But I also meane those præambulatorie notes, by which it may suspiciously appear, that some mighty businesse is in hand, when secret murmurs, and other markes of approaching mischiefe discoouer somewhat, euen to an halfe open-eye, and when common bodings mis-giue.

CHAP. XLIX.

NERO'S DOINGS AFTER HIS RETURN.

IN the meane space (as if nothing else were needfull) the vnwise prince doth wholly tend to enter ROME in a fiddling triumph, by breaking downe her walls (no contemptible omen of his owne dismantlings) as hee had done before at NAPLES,

ANTI-

ANTIVM, & ALBANVM, according to the custome of the *Hieronickes*, or sacred victories. For with that adiunct the GREEKS adorned their deserts who returned victors from their generall prizes.

CHAP. L.

THE LAST ACT OF NERO'S PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS.

BVt whosoever triumph in sport, the champions of eternall verity triumph in blood. For, after NERO'S return, the two principal lights of the *Christian* name, were by his commandement led to their martyrdom, both vpon one day, both with one glory of profession, though in a diuers kinde of suffering, the one by crucifixion reuerst, the other by decollation. So the fire of persecution which had vnequally flamed ouer the world, after about foure yeares from the first rising therof, went forth in two most shining blazes, as dying lamps expire with enlarged flames. The summe of *Christianitie* being their care, & their deaths being the summe of iniquitie, EVSEBIUS dates the *Persecution*, not where it began, but where it gaue the forest blow. Which if some had well considered, they might haue spared the reproofe of EVSEBIUS, as if he had mis-placed the time.

CHAP. LI.

HOLY MEN THE INVISIBLE STAYES OF THE WORLD.

ANd though the Persecutor obserued it not, yet did he thereby cut away at once the two main anchors, at which the ship of empire, and the last

last hope of his safety did invisibly ride. Their prayers, and their presences mightily preserved the estate of peace, according as they also did (in the opinion of PAULVS QROSIVS) vnder CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS, that indulgent father of the world. The persons of Saints are like secret pledges of common quiet, apparently seen in the case of the five cities, for which ABRAM interceded, and their meditations are as shields for the earth against the wrath of heaven. God taught his most potent office of prayer in persecution, for preservation of the civill estate, by his prophet IEREMY to the *Jewes*, in their captivity at BABILON, and these blessed *Apostles*, enured it in their writings, and examples, during their corporall abode in ROME. These cables, and stayes being thus cut off, NERO could not but be over-whelmed with the vengeance due to his crimes, among which the greatest was the wilfull effusion of *Christians* blood, vnder iniurious, & calumnious titles. For IOSEPH SCALIGER voucheth an old pagan *scholiast*, affirming, that they suffer'd as forcerers, or magicians, and to say the truth, what could it appeare to NERO (who knew not things diuine) but an effect of some notable enchantment, that women who in his dayes were invited, and authorised to all sorts of lewdnesse, should be wonne to the quite contrary? The sacred annals assigne deuout chastity as a cause among the causes of that *Persecution*. His own persuasion was firme in this (saith SVETONIVS) that there was no such vertue; for he himself was defiled all ouer; and had deflowred the Vestal *virgin*, RVBRIA. He could not therefore but be much the readier to ascribe so strange a conuersion to witchcraft. Again, the famous case, and bloudy downfall of *Simon Magus* (that most blasphemous impostor)

in the fight of ROME, and of NERO (as in SVETONIVS vnder the fabulous name of an ICARVS) procured by the prayers, and adiuration of the *Aposlle* (as in DAMASVS, HIEROME, AVGVSTINE, EPIPHANIVS, ARNOBIVS, and others) had the rather seald an opinion of magick arts in *Christians*, according to the malice, and ignorance of the times. IANVS GRVTERVS (to whose diligence the common-weale of ciuill letters is not a little indebted) in his vsefull volumn of *Inscriptions* hath a testimony touching a place in ROME called *The Simon Magnus*, where that memorial which was (whatsoever it was) being taken away by the barbarous, the same was restored by CASTALIVS INNOCENTIVS, *Audax*, at that time iudge in sacred causes. The Inscription transcribed hither, followes here. CASTALIVS. INNOCENTIVS. AVDAX. V.C. PRÆF. VRBIS. VICE. SACRA. IUDICANS. BARBARICA INCVRSIONE SVBLATA RESTITVIT. But NERO CÆSAR perswaded himselfe, that this sacrifice which hee made of their captaines as hee was *High Priest* (for that function was also his) would settle his owne domination by his *Auerruncan* deities. But he committed such an offense therein, as did consummate all his infelicities.

CHAP. LII.

NERO DESTITVTED.

THE ETHNICK storie (which I professe to prosecute) proceeds, and further saith, that the vicer of his misgouernment, bred, and fed in ROME, by the odious flatteries of the degenerous Senate, who without their least freedome of reproofe, held vp his spirit, in the conscience of all his grand murders,

thers, in which his brother, mother, and his nearest friends perished, was first begunne to be lanced by IULIUS VINDE X in GALLIA. The kore of that foule apostem (for his times saith AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, were *the colluion*, or sincke of the world) was in himselfe, which himselfe was driuen to incise. All friends sodeinly forsooke him, and in that iust destitution he was glad to flye bare-footed, and muffled, vpon as sorry a iade (saith XIPHILINE) as his coat was base, with onely foure left vnto him, of so many scores of thousands. I take delight to recount their names who retained faith towards their lord in his last necessities. Which was piety in them, whatsoeuer his impiety was. They were his freed-men; PHAON, to whose farm-houle he fled, and EPAPHRODITVS, Maister of Requests, SPORVS his male concubine (called POPPEA SABINA, and not RHODOGVN, saith DIO PRYSIAS) and another whom SVETONIVS nameth not, but EVTROPIVS, and SAVILE (out of him) calls NEOPHYTVS. When NERO therefore approached the village, in many feares and affrights, he was enforced, for auoiding note (after al other difficulties, and miseries, for getting vp to the next wall of the place among vnder-woods, & briers, or through the path of a queachie reed-plot) to creep like a beast on all foure. Wherby Gods iustice did cast his body into that abiect posture, which most resembled the state of his vnthankfull, and sauage minde. But thus he made thist at last to come vnseene where he was to hide himselfe, in such extreme want of all things, that for quenching his thirst, hee was driuen to lade water with his hand out of the next plash, saying, *This is NERO's beuerege*. He meant therby that drink of his owne deuising, which PLINIE celebrates as a

most witty inuention. It was only faire water boild, and that being put into a glasse, was set in snow, whereby he enioyd the coolnesse without the contagion. Sodden liquor (saith he) is more wholesome, then raw; and water once heated, and cooled again, is by so much the colder.

CHAP. LIII.

OF NERO'S END, AND OF EPAPHRODITVS.

THe Senate in the meane space neglected not to concurre to his speedy depression, proclaiming GALBA, Emperour, and him the publicke enemy. But those corners of horse which they sent vpon the spur for his apprehension, were outstript by swifter meanes, which warned him of the nearenesse, & ineuitable certainty of his danger, besides the horriblenesse of the death to which he was adiudged: for their sentence was, that he should suffer after the antient manner. In that most seuer, and shamefull execution; *the body of the condemned person was to be stript stark naked, his hands fast bound behinde him, his head stockt vnder a forke, and himselfe in open view beaten to death with rods.* Or (to speake that more explicately, which SVETONIVS speakes congestedly) *to be beaten first with rods by the lictor, and then his head to be cut off with an axe by the common hangman.* For that was truely MORE MAIORVM in this case. Nor doth NERO seeme to haue vnderstood it otherwise, when he was so earnest that his body might be funerally burned entire, the head remaining on. NERO hereupon, after many fearefull delayes, and abie& lamentations, puts a poniard to his throat, which EPAPHRODITVS did helpe to driue home, lest his capitall enemies should

should seize on him alive. This EPAPHRODITVS was indeed a very worthy man, a great friend, & aduancer of honest studies. FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS honours him with highest praises, as the person to whose patronage he dedicated those his immortall volumns of the *IEVVS Antiquities*. And it must not stand among the least of his good fortunes, & commendations, that EPICETVS (the most graue, & renowned *stoick* of the world) was his seruant in household; a man more free then his maister. But DOMITIAN (a portion of NERO for cruelty, saith TERTVLLIAN) as in more prouision for his owne securitie, by the terrour of such a retrospection, commanded this noble freed-man to die, because his hand had howsoeuer assisted to NERO's self-murther. Though it was no other-wise then as only to confer a benefit. The act had in it the shew of good, and SVETONIVS commends it for such. But whether he was well ouercome by his zeale, and pittie, may seeme a proper subiect for a controuersie among *rhetoricall* declamers. Thus was NERO's voice, and singing marr'd, & these were among his last words, *O what an artist I die, or thus, O Iupiter, what a master I am in singing to the harpe, and yet perish!* For DIO, and MANASSES in his chronicle, doe fill vp that sentence in SVETONIVS so. Yet was he not such an artist, as hee was an example of terrour to wicked rulers, who make musick to themselves out of the miseries of the publicke. To add to the sacred titles of *Augustus*, of *Higb-Priest*, of *Tribunitial power*, and of *the Father of his countrey*, which adoption, and the common-weal bestowed, and he defiled, that one most vaine new title of PERIODONICK (by which hee meant his victories in the Arts obtained from the GREEKS in all their chiefe nationall

nall games, and places of tryal visited in circuit) seemed to him a thing most glorious, and diuine. A plaine effect of a most defectiue breeding.

CHAP. LIIII.

SPECVLATIONS, On Behalfe of Common-
weale, V P O N T H E D E P O S V R E A N D
D E A T H O F N E R O .

HERE neuerthelesse, if the freedome, & serenity of discourse, & censure might haue their full allowance, it would easily be found, by view of euents, that the People of ROME had beene farre better perhaps to haue attended NERO's amendment, or what else soeuer of him, being so young (for he died not two and thirty yeares of age) then to suffer a NYMPHIDIUS, a GALBA, an OTHO, a VITELLIVS, and all the bloody confusions inseperable to sidings for the imperiall garland, which hapned, all of them, within the compasse of only one yeare, and two & twenty dayes. DIO. exactly notes that quantity of interim from NERO's end till VESPASIAN'S entrance. Within so narrow a circle those infinite euils were enwrapped, which immediately ensued, and which brought forth some more filthy monsters then NERO's selfe; nothing being tolerable, during that whole space of time, but onely the shortnesse of it. Nay, it imported the Senate, and People of ROME to haue kept this sacred secret from euer going abroad, *That a CÆSAR (who was also none of the CÆSARS) might be elsewhere made then at ROME, and among the sword-men in the prouinces, no lesse religiously then they kept either their fatall shield, or SIBYLLS verses, or as it did concerne those*

those other of old to haue preserved the image of MINERVA, at TROY. For at this breach the empires fall first entred. For the election of emperours being translated thereby after seauen successions, from a certaine family, became the meed of most voices in the armies, and they the vendible ware of popularitie, donatiues, and congiaries. Adde, that the very sinew, and shot-anchor of humane prouisions was volently dissolued, when the soldiers (contrary to honesty and discipline) were taught to despise their allegiance, and goūnmen to concur in like periurie with the soldiers. And what shall conferue the life of the most innocent, and most meritorious prince, if the pillar of fealtie be remoued? Or what must not that state suffer hazardous, whose principall ties shall sodeinly be dissundred, before new can possibly be so prouided as withall to be timely fastned? Monarckie is like the pole of the world, where all the meridians meet, and cannot be dislocated in the person vested therewith, but vniuersall perturbations must follow. CAPITO COSSVTIANVS, though a very bad man, said very well; *That to ouerthrow souereignty, liberty was cryed vp, but if souereignty was thereby ouerthrowne, then would liberty it selfe be set vpon.* MAVRICVS (in PLVTARCKS GALBA) was both a wise man, and a worthy Senatour, who beholding the wilde way which NYMPHIDIUS SABINVS ambitiously gaue to the peoples licentious reuenges, and cruelties, immediately after NEROS end, spake it openly. That he feared lest they would wish for NERO. Yea TACITVS himselfe, howsoeuer affected with the allowvance of change, as in honest detestation of tyranny, was neuertheless so toucht with the mischiefes, and miseries which forthwith follow.

followed thicke, that he breakes out vpon that meditation, into words which the best of his friends can hardly excuse from impotent impiety (borrowed in the probable opinion of IUSTVS LIPSIVS) out of round and flagrant LVCAN.

CHAP. LV.

THE LINE OF THE CÆSARS ENDED.

IN NERO the maiestical tree of the CÆSARS withered, in him their channell of power dried vp, the last of their line, and house. For MARCVS AGRIPPA (by IVLIA the daughter of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, had issue) AGRIPPINA, the wife of GERMANICVS CÆSAR, the parents of AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA, the mother of this vnhappy man. All other the branches, and hopes of the IVLIAN familie, were at severall times betweene, and vpon severall occasions detrencht, or otherwise decaid, and dead, their rights combyned in his blood, going all of them out in NERO CÆSAR, as a tedious lampe with an euill odour.

FINIS.

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